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„Dative Case in Südtirol-German"

Verfasser

Matthias Vesco

angestrebter akademischer Grad

Magister der Philosophie (Mag.phil.)

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For my four-legged friend Hasso. I will never forget you.

Acknowledgments

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Preface

This thesis deals with dative case in *Südtirol German* (STG), a German dialect spoken in *Südtirol* (Northern Italy). STG differs from Standard German mainly in respect of its phonology. There are nevertheless some syntactic differences, too. One of the most significant differences concerns the behavior of dative case. The properties to be discussed surprisingly deviate from Standard German to a certain extend.

As STG hasn't got an established writing, I use phonetic writing in my examples. Of course there is phonological variety within different dialects spoken in Südtirol. The examples all relate to a variety that is spoken around the capital city *Bolzano* even though the properties discussed apply to most (probably all) STG varieties. The examples sometimes involve the notation (*). This notation indicates that the concerned sentences are accepted by STG speakers because those sentences are understood as the usage of Standard German syntax. In common situations, however, STG speakers will never use such sentences, suggesting that they are ungrammatical even though accepted.

0   Introduction

In this thesis I empirically investigate some properties of dative case in Südtirol German (STG). As opposed to Standard German (SG), STG dative objects in verbal and adjectival environments are preceded by the preposition *in*. Being semantically empty, this preposition functions as a case assigner. SG verbal and adjectival heads responsible for dative case checking are proposed to be defective in STG. They are defective in the sense that they are unable to assign dative case. P° constitutes the only dative case assigning head in STG. Non-prepositional dative case contexts involve the default preposition *in*, which functions as a case assigner.

Surprisingly *in* is absent when dative objects are personal pronouns. Nevertheless these personal pronouns have to be analyzed as PPs. Dative personal pronouns lacking *in* can be coordinated with lexical NPs involving *in*. Following the *Law of coordination of Likes* (Chomsky 1957, Schachter 1977, Williams 1978) different syntactic categories can't be coordinated. STG dative personal pronouns thus appear as PPs.

It is suggested that a process of incorporation in the sense on Baker (1988) is responsible for the absence of *in*. STG dative personal pronouns incorporate from D° into P° which results in the absence of the default preposition. The difference between lexical NPs and personal pronouns is argued to consist in inner syntactic properties. Personal pronouns are bare Ds and are thus allowed to incorporate into P°.

(1)   PP
           /   \
         P   DP
                     |
                     D°
    mi:r$_i$ (*me*.DAT)

                     t$_i$
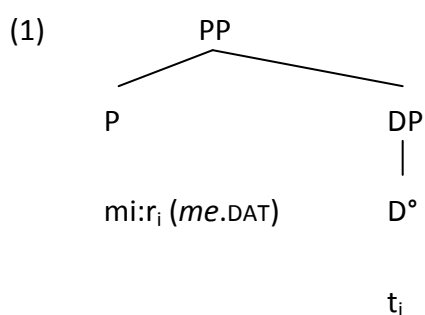
Lexical NPs are of course not bare Ds. The determiner incorporating into P° would satisfy its case checking requirement. The NP left behind, however, would still fail to do so. As no incorporation can take place under such conditions, the presence of ɪn contrary to dative personal pronouns automatically follows.

(2)

```
              PP
           /      \
          P        DP
                  /    \
         ɪn     D°      NP
                        /\
                       /__\
               dər            frau
         in      the.DAT      woman
```
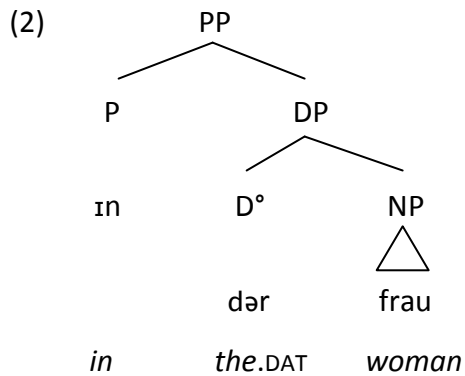
Further it is claimed that ɪn satisfies EPP properties of P°. Landau (2007) has proposed that EPP properties can apply to any functional category. In the case of PPs headed by the default preposition ɪn these PPs are clearly functional as the default preposition is semantically empty.

If P° is already filled as in (1), the default preposition doesn't have to surface. In (2) in contrary P° is empty. *In* gives P° phonological content and enters a case checking relation with a following dative lexical NP. STG dative case in verbal and adjectival contexts can only be assigned by prepositional heads. In the case of lexical NPs the default preposition ɪn satisfies case checking requirements and EPP properties of P°. In the case of personal pronouns no case is needed following Baker's (1988, p. 140-148) proposal that incorporates don't need case. Moreover P° is filled by incorporated personal pronouns.

The organization of this thesis is as follows: Chapter 1 presents some data and basic properties concerning STG dative case. Chapter 2 approaches the difference between dative lexical NPs and dative personal pronouns. Personal pronouns are argued to be bare Ds. This inner syntactic property makes it possible for dative personal pronouns to incorporate in given contexts. Chapter 3 deals with other STG pronouns that are

shown to pattern with lexical NPs. Tests concerning NP-modification justify that these other pronouns involve silent NPs. Chapter 4 presents some related data from Italian showing that STG doesn't display a completely unique behavior. In chapter 5 I further argue for another consequence of syntactic lightness regarding STG personal pronouns, namely the ability of pronominal objects to surface in so called *Wackernagel positions*. Chapter 6 finally concludes the thesis defining some topics for future research.

1   Basic properties of STG dative case

Standard German dative case is assigned by verbal, adjectival and prepositional heads. STG differs from SG in the sense that P° is the only syntactic head able to assign dative case. Verbal and adjectival heads are unable to check dative case in STG. They involve the default preposition *ɪn*, which functions as a case assigner. Along these lines I present STG data concerning dative case in verbal, adjectival and prepositional domains. I show that the item *ɪn* precedes dative objects in verbal and adjectival contexts. I further show that it is absent in prepositional contexts.

i.   Verbal domains

Three examples are used to demonstrate the appearance of *ɪn* in verbal domains: High datives in ditransitives, sole dative objects and low datives in ditransitives. The most productive instance of *ɪn* among verbal dative case domains is the instance of high datives in ditransitives. By high datives in ditransitives I mean what is usually understood as German ditransitive constructions (indirect objects are hierarchically higher than direct objects in those constructions). The term *high datives* is used to distinguish the well known productive class of ditransitive constructions from the unproductive and small class of low datives in ditransitives (examples 5). Sentences in (3) show that a dative case marked indirect object is obligatorily preceded by the item *ɪn* in STG. In contrast to the SG example (3a), *ɪn* precedes the indirect object *dər frau* in the analogous STG example (3b).

(3) - *High datives in ditransitves*

    a.)   Ich gebe der   Frau ein Buch   SG

            I   give the.DAT woman a book

            "I am giving a book to the woman."

    b.)   i: g i:b ɪn   dər   frau   a puax   STG

            I give in the.DAT woman a book

            "I am giving a book to the woman."

    c.)[(*)1] i: g i:b dər   frau   a puax   STG

            I give the.DAT woman a book

A second instance of *ɪn* consists in constructions involving sole dative objects. An example of a German verb choosing for a sole dative object is *helfen* (help). Again, the dative DP is obligatorily preceded by the item *ɪn* in STG (4b, c), contrary to SG (4a).

(4) - *Sole dative objects*

    a.)   Ich helfe meinen Brüdern.   SG

            I   help my.DAT mother

            "I am helping my brothers."

    b.)   i: hɪlf ɪn maɪnɛ   prɪadər   STG

            I help in   my   brothers

            "I am helping my brothers."

    c.)*   i: hɪlf   maɪnɛ   prɪadər   STG

            I help   my   brothers

A third domain further suggests that STG *ɪn* is not linked to specific constructions but to verbal dative contexts in general. All Vs selecting dative case involve the default preposition. As expected, *ɪn* also precedes low dative DPs in ditransitive constructions (5b, c).

---

[1] The notation (*) refers to sentences that are accepted by STG speakers, though understood as the usage of SG syntax.

(5) - *Low datives in ditransitives*

    a.)   Der Zahnarzt unterzieht das Kind einer Behandlung   SG

           the dentist   subjects   the child a.DAT treatment

           "The dentist subjects the child to a treatment."

    b.)   dər tso:nɔrtst untərtsɪag es kʰind   ɪn a   behɔndluŋ   STG

           the dentist   subjects   the child in a.DAT treatment

           "The dentist subjects the child to a treatment."

    c.)$^{(*)}$ dər tso:nɔrtst untərtsɪag es kʰind   a   behɔndluŋ   STG

           the dentist   subjects   the child a.DAT treatment

ii.   Adjectival domains

The next two examples show that *ɪn* is not only present in verbal, but also in adjectival contexts. Adjectives as *trɔɪ* (loyal) take dative complements. STG sentences involve *ɪn* which precedes dative complements (6b) as opposed to SG (6a).

(6) - *Datives as complements of adjectives*

    a.)   Er ist seiner Freundin treu   SG

           he is his.DAT girlfriend loyal

           "He is loyal to his girlfriend."

    b.)   ɛːr ɪʃ ɪn saɪnər fraɪndɪn trɔɪ   STG

           he is in his.DAT girlfriend loyal

           "He is loyal to his girlfriend."

    c.)$^{(*)}$ ɛːr ɪʃ saɪnər fraɪndɪn trɔɪ   STG

           he is his.DAT girlfriend loyal

Sentences in (7) further exemplify that the presence of *ɪn* in adjectival domains is not limited to predicative adjectives. *In* also shows up when adjectives taking dative complements are attributive (7b). So the appearance of *ɪn* in (6) cannot be related to a complex verb as *trɔɪ saɪn* (to be loyal). It has to be related to the adjective *trɔɪ* (loyal).

As these data illustrate, the presence of *ɪn* spreads to all verbal and adjectival instances of dative case.

(7) - *Datives as complements of adjectives – attributive adjectives*

a.)	Der seinem Besitzer treue Hund ist vier Jahre alt		SG
	the his.DAT owner loyal dog is four years old		
	"The dog that is loyal to his owner is four years old."		
b.)	dər ɪn saɪn pesɪtsər trɔɪɛ hund ɪʃ fiːr joːr ɔlt		STG
	the in his owner loyal dog is four years old		
	"The dog that is loyal to his owner is four years old."		
c.)*	dər saɪn pesɪtsər trɔɪɛ hund ɪʃ fiːr joːr ɔlt		STG
	the his owner loyal dog is four years old		

All dative objects that are assigned dative case by verbal and adjectival heads in SG additionally have to be preceded by the item *ɪn* in STG.

iii. Prepositional domains

Examples from prepositional domains reveal that *ɪn* is not simply present in every instance of STG dative case. It is present in verbal and adjectival dative case domains but not in prepositional ones. In prepositional contexts *ɪn* doesn't surface. Its insertion to the left of dative DPs is ungrammatical, as (8c) shows.

(8) - *Datives in SG prepositional domains*

a.)	auf der Wiese		SG
	on the.DAT field		
b.)	af dər viːsɛ		STG
	on the.DAT field		
c.)*	af ɪn dər viːsɛ		STG
	on in the.DAT field		

I therefore conclude that *ɪn* is not simply an instance of dative case environments altogether. It can't be analyzed as some sort of a case marker for two reasons. First dative case surfaces on DPs independently from the presence of *ɪn*. Second there is an asymmetry between verbal/adjectival domains on one hand and prepositional domains on the other hand. The fact that prepositions with semantic content (8b) and the item *ɪn* (3-7) appear in complementary distribution suggests that they are of the same categorial status. *In* therefore clearly appears as a semantically empty preposition in non-prepositional environments. Moreover the prepositional status of *ɪn* is supported by the fact that STG has a preposition *ɪn* with semantic content, too. An example is given in (9).

(9)   ɪn   dər   ʃual
        In   the.DAT school
        "at school"

Turning to the default preposition again, the reason for it to surface in verbal and adjectival contexts is argued to be following. Verbal and adjectival heads are defective in STG. They are defective in the sense that they are unable to assign dative case. P° is the only syntactic head that is able to fulfill case checking requirements of dative objects. Verbal and adjectival dative case contexts therefore involve a default preposition which handles the case checking requirements of dative objects. The difference between SG and STG is that as for SG, verbal, adjectival and prepositional heads check dative case. As for STG in contrast, exclusively prepositional heads check dative case.

(10)   *Generalization:*

        Only prepositional heads check dative case in STG. Verbal and adjectival dative
        case contexts involve the case checking default preposition ɪn.

The generalization given in (10) further constitutes the basis for an analysis of STG dative personal pronouns. Two major consequences follow from (10). The first one is linked to the PP-status of lexical NPs in verbal and adjectival dative case contexts. As

dative lexical NPs involving *m* can be coordinated with dative personal pronouns lacking it, dative personal pronouns appear as PPs, too. Following the *Law of the Coordination of Likes* (Chomsky 1957, Schachter 1977, Williams 1978) different syntactic categories can't be coordinated. Uncontroversially dative lexical NPs are PPs, so dative personal pronouns must be PPs as well. The second consequence of (10) is that it allows for an analysis in which STG personal pronouns incorporate into P° in verbal and adjectival dative case contexts. A detailed description of such an incorporation process in the sense of Baker (1988) is given in the following chapter. Having defined the basic properties of STG dative case, I now move on to the discussion of dative personal pronouns in verbal and adjectival environments.

2   STG dative personal pronouns

Following the generalization in (10) I propose that inner syntactic differences between dative personal pronouns and dative lexical NPs are responsible for the presence/absence of *m*. Personal pronouns, being bare Ds, can undergo a process of incorporation into P° which results in the absence of the default preposition. Lexical NPs in contrast have a complete syntactic structure which prevents them from incorporating.

That dative personal pronouns do incorporate into P° is suggested by the fact that they can be coordinated with lexical NPs involving *m*. The *Law of Coordination of Likes* (Chomsky 1957, Schachter 1977, Williams 1978) states that different syntactic categories can't be coordinated, so the PP-status of STG personal pronouns automatically follows. If lexical NPs in such coordinated contexts are PPs, dative personal pronouns lacking *m* have to be PPs as well. Additionally, the case assigning status of *m* patterns with proposals regarding incorporation in the sense of Baker (1988). Baker (1988, p. 140-148) claims that items which incorporate don't need case. Along these lines, incorporating STG dative personal pronouns satisfy case checking requirements by incorporating into P°.

Tests concerning NP-modification justify the claim that STG personal pronouns are bare Ds. The reason for lexical NPs which are unable to incorporate is following: In contrast to dative personal pronouns they are not bare Ds. Determiners preceding NPs could in principle be allowed to incorporate, but the NP left behind would still fail to satisfy case checking requirements. Therefore syntactic complexity prevents incorporation.

It is further proposed that the absence of *in* is related to EPP properties of P°. Landau (2007) argues that the EPP is a phonological constraint that can apply to any functional category. In the case of STG verbal and adjectival dative case environments, the default preposition *in* is semantically empty. The default preposition therefore appears as functional. I propose that in the case of dative objects that are lexical NPs, the default preposition checks EPP features of P°. In the case of dative personal pronouns P° is already filled. The pronoun has incorporated into the case assigning head. EPP properties of P° are automatically satisfied.

I will start this chapter by defining the domains in which *in* is absent. It is shown that the whole category of STG personal pronouns (clitic ones and strong ones) dispenses with *in*. In a second section (2.2) I present examples regarding coordination between dative lexical NPs and dative personal pronouns setting the starting point for the incorporation analysis. Section 2.3 finally illustrates the core proposals. First some data are used to justify that STG personal pronouns are bare Ds. Second the incorporation process is discussed in detail.

2.1   Personal pronouns and the absence of *in*

The whole category of personal pronouns dispenses with *in*. Several data-points demonstrate that this absence must be linked to properties regarding the category of personal pronouns, rather than to specific syntactic environments. The absence of *in* is neither limited to specific instances of *in*-construction, nor to clitic pronouns

exclusively, nor it is restricted to specific syntactic positions.[2] The difference between lexical NPs involving *ɪn* and personal pronouns lacking it appears to be linked to inner syntactic properties concerning the category of personal pronouns.

Consider first an example of the difference between dative lexical NPs and dative personal pronouns.

(11)

    a.)   i: g i:b ɪn dər   frau a puax

            I give in the.DAT woman a book

            "I am giving a book to the woman."

    b.)[(*)] i: g i:b dər   frau   a puax

            I give the.DAT woman a book

    c.)   i: g i:b dər   a puax

            I give you.Cl. a book

            "I am giving you a book."

    d.)*   i: g i:b ɪn dər   a puax

            I give in you.Cl.   a book

(11a and b) show the obligatory status of *ɪn* when dative objects are lexical NPs. In grammatical (11a) the default preposition precedes the dative indirect object. Omitting *ɪn* is ungrammatical as shown by (11b). When dative objects are personal pronouns, the opposite holds. (11c) is grammatical without *ɪn* preceding the dative object, whereas (11d) is ungrammatical with the default preposition present.

---

[2] Note that *ɪn* is neither linked to semantic properties as e.g. animacy. The reason for treating it as an animacy marker would be that it is absent when an item (as personal pronouns) is intrinsically marked for animacy. *In* can't be an animacy marker since it obligatorily precedes animate quantifiers. Animate quantifiers as *je:mand* (someone) contrast with inanimate ones as *epɛs* (something). If *ɪn* was an animacy marker it would be absent on animate quantifiers as they are intrinsically marked for animacy. This is not the case as the example below shows.

    i.   i: g i:b ɪn   je:mand a puax

                I give in someone a book

                "I am giving a book to the woman."

i. Different *ɪn*-constructions

That this difference concerns the whole range of *ɪn*-environments shown in chapter 1, is exemplified by examples in (12). Sole dative objects (12) pattern with ditransitive constructions (11) as the same difference between lexical NPs and personal pronouns can be observed.

(12)

    a.)   i: hɪlf ɪn maɪnɛ   prɪadər

              I help in   my   brothers

              "I am helping my brothers."

    b.)*   i: hɪlf   maɪnɛ   prɪadər

              I help   my   brothers

    c.)   i: hɪlf dər

              I help you

              "I am helping you."

    d.)*   i: hɪlf ɪn dər

              I help in you

Again *ɪn* is obligatory when dative objects are lexical NPs and ungrammatical when dative objects are (clitic) personal pronouns. It can therefore be concluded that the asymmetry noted applies to all *ɪn*-constructions. The instance of sole dative objects was used as an example.

ii. Clitic and strong personal pronouns

The two examples shown above (11c and d, 12c and d) both involve clitic pronouns. Some other instances of *ɪn* show that its absence is not limited to clitic pronouns. An example for strong personal pronouns lacking *ɪn* is given in (13). The adjective selecting a dative complement doesn't involve *ɪn* when the dative object is a personal pronoun.

(13)

    a.)   dər ɪn saɪn pesɪtsər trɔɪɛ hund ɪʃ fiːr joːr ɔlt

            the in his   owner loyal dog is four years old

            "The dog that is loyal to his owner is four years old."

    b.)*   dər saɪn pesɪtsər trɔɪɛ hund ɪʃ fiːr joːr ɔlt

            the his   owner loyal dog is four years old

    c.)   dər iːm trɔɪɛ hund ɪʃ fiːr joːr ɔlt

            the he.DAT loyal dog is four years old

            "The dog that is loyal to him is four years old."

    d.)*   dər ɪn iːm   trɔɪɛ hund ɪʃ fiːr joːr ɔlt

            the in he.DAT loyal dog is four years old

The same asymmetry that can be observed in instances of clitic dative personal pronouns (11 and 12) also applies to instances of strong dative personal pronouns. (13c and d) involve strong personal pronouns. In (13c) the default preposition is again obligatorily absent. Sentence (13d) involving *ɪn* is ungrammatical.

Along these lines I will discuss some properties of clitic pronouns vs. strong pronouns. First an illustration of these properties enriches the understanding of the data presented so far. Second it will be important for the discussion of focused personal pronouns which lack *ɪn* as well. Focused personal pronouns are built upon strong personal pronouns thus representing strong personal pronouns. They are not restricted to given syntactic positions as clitic and unfocused strong personal pronouns are. Therefore they provide very good background for the claim that the absence of *ɪn* is neither related to phonological weakness, nor to given syntactic positions.

A syntactic difference between clitic pronouns in (11 and 12) and strong pronouns in (13) is following: Clitic pronouns are limited to so called *Wackernagel Positions* which are located onto the right of C°. Thus clitic pronouns always follow either C° or other

clitic pronouns[3]. Therefore the usage of a clitic pronoun in contexts such as (13) is ungrammatical:

(14)*   dər   mər   trɔɪɛ hund ɪʃ fiːr joːr   ɔlt

                 the me.DAT.Cl. loyal dog   is four years old

                 "The dog that is loyal to him is four years old."

That clitic pronouns are exclusively allowed to the right of C° (or to the right of other clitic pronouns) is further demonstrated in (15) [4]. (15b) shows a grammatical instance of a clitic pronoun. The pronoun is located to the right of the V2-auxiliary. (15c) shows that clitic pronouns are not allowed to surface in SpecCP like the strong subject pronoun *ɛːr* in (15a).

(15)

     a.)   ɛːr hɔt geʃtərn   an kʰuːxn̩ gepɔkʰn̩

              he has yesterday a   cake   baked

              He baked a cake for you yesterday".

     b.)   geʃtərn   hɔt ər   an kʰuːxn̩ gepɔkʰn̩

              yesterday has he.Cl. a   cake   baked

     c.)*   ər   hɔt geʃtərn   an kʰuːxn̩ gepɔkʰn̩

              he.Cl. has yesterday a   cake   baked

---

[3]Note that the order of clitic pronouns is complexly determined by a number of constraints that I will not address at this point. Some general properties will be discussed in chapter 5 which is about Wackernagel positions and their relation to syntactic lightness.

[4] This is also the case if lexical subjects are involved:

     i.)*   geʃtərn   hɔt dər polɪtsɪʃt   mər   gholfn̩
            yesterday has   the policeman me.DAT.Cl helped
            "Yesterday the policeman helped me."
     ii.)   geʃtərn   hɔt mər   dər polɪtsɪʃt gholfn̩
            yesterday has   me.DAT.Cl the policeman helped
            "Yesterday the policeman helped me."

Since the dative pronoun in (13) is not located in a required position for clitic pronouns, a clitic pronoun is not admissible and a strong pronoun must be used. The opposite holds for contexts such as ditransitive constructions (11).

(16)[(*)]   i: g i:b   diːr   a puax

            I give you.DAT a book

            "I am giving you a book."

As long as (16) is not understood as the usage of Standard German grammar, the usage of a strong pronoun in this example is not allowed. I suggest that this constraint relates to some principle of phonological economy. If a clitic pronoun can be used in a given construction, there is no reason to use a strong one. Cardinaletti & Starke (1993) have proposed a principle describing this property, namely *The Principle of Choice* which states that it is always the most deficient form that is used if more forms are possible. Obviously there is a counterpart of (16) involving a clitic pronoun (11c). The usage of a clitic pronoun meets phonological economy which rules out sentence (16).

A first example for strong dative pronouns lacking *ɪn* was the dative complement of an attributive adjective in (13). A second example is now given by focused personal pronouns which can be used in ditransitive constructions[5].

(17)

     a.)   i: g i:b   DIːR   a puax

                I give you.DAT.Foc. a book

                "I am giving a book to YOU."

     b.)*   i: g i:b ɪn   DIːR   a puax

                I give in you.DAT.Foc. a book

     c.)   i: g i:b dər   a puax

                I give you.Cl. a book

                "I am giving you a book."

---

[5] Some properties regarding focused pronouns and syntactic positions will be addressed more precisely in chapter 5.

d.)*   i: g i:b ɪn   dər   a puax

           I give in you.Cl. a book

In this case phonological economy can't rule out sentence (17a). Clitic pronouns can't be focused of course, so they are unable to carry the semantic contribution of focus. Focused pronouns are built upon strong pronouns, thus it is shown that even within a single construction, in this case the ditransitive construction, the absence of *ɪn* applies to clitic pronouns as well as to strong pronouns. The comparison between (17c and d) and (17a and b) most clearly shows this. I therefore conclude the absence of *ɪn* is neither limited to specific instances of *ɪn* as a comparison between ditransitive constructions (11), sole dative objects (12) and attributive adjectives selecting dative complements (13) shows. Nor it is restricted to clitic pronouns. It applies to clitic pronouns on one hand (11 and 12) and to strong personal pronouns on the other hand (13 and 17).

iii.   Syntactic positions

That the absence of the default preposition is also not limited to given syntactic positions can already be deduced from the contrast between (11 and 12) and (13) where dative personal pronouns are located in different syntactic positions. In (11 and 12) clitic pronouns are located to the right of C°. In (13) a strong pronoun is located onto the left of an adjectival head. At this point I give one more example showing that even within a single construction *ɪn* is absent, regardless of syntactic positions.

(18)

    a.)   i: g i:b   DI:R   a puax

            I give you.DAT.Foc. a book

            "I am giving a book to YOU."

    b.)*   i: g i:b ɪn   DI:R   a puax

            I give in you.DAT.Foc. a book

c.) DI:R　　　　g i:b　ɪ　a puax

you.DAT.FOC.　give　I.Cl.　a book

"It is YOU that I am giving a book to."

d.)*　ɪn　　DI:R　　g i:b　ɪ　　a puax

in　you.DAT.FOC.　give　I.Cl.　a book

As examples (18c and d) illustrate, the default preposition is also absent in SpecCP. Again it appears to be the case that dative personal pronouns lack the default preposition no matter which position they occupy. This property was first shown by a comparison between different constructions involving different positions for dative objects (11 and 12 vs. 13). Second it was even demonstrated within one single construction (18a vs. 18c). Focused pronouns show these properties very well as they are not as restricted to specific syntactic environments as clitic and unfocused strong personal pronouns are. Before I summarize the central claims I want to name the reasons why I use a focused personal pronoun in (18c). Again the usage of an unfocused and untopicalized strong personal pronoun is not possible.

(19)*　　　di:r　　　g i:b　ɪ　a puax

you.DAT.　give　I.Cl.　a book

"I am giving you a book."

In this case the reason for this limitation is a different one than for (16). SpecCP is a marked position for dative objects. Thus the movement of a dative object to SpecCP requires a reason. Focus is such a reason. Therefore focused dative personal pronouns are allowed in SpecCP whereas unfocused and untopicalized dative personal pronouns are not.

iv:　　Summary and preview

The data presented in this section can be summarized as follows: All contexts that involve the default preposition lack it when dative objects are personal pronouns. The absence of *ɪn* is neither limited to clitic pronouns, nor to syntactic positions. It is a property that appears to be linked to inner syntactic properties of personal pronouns.

In the next section I will show that there is no categorial difference between dative lexical NPs and personal pronouns. As they can be coordinated, personal pronouns appear as PPs as well. Dative personal pronouns are claimed to incorporate from D° into P° which results in the absence of *ɪn*. Section 2.3 discusses this process in detail. The difference between dative lexical NPs and dative personal pronouns is argued to consist in inner syntactic differences. Tests regarding NP modification justify that personal pronouns are bare Ds, a property which enables them to incorporate into P°. This inner syntactic difference is argued to be responsible for the asymmetry exemplified throughout the data presented in the current section. Personal pronouns are bare Ds whereas lexical NPs are not.

2.2   Dative personal pronouns are PPs

Having shown that the absence of *ɪn* applies to the category of personal pronouns, I will now discuss the nature of the difference between dative lexical NPs and dative personal pronouns. Data concerning coordination reveal that this difference is not a categorial one. Dative personal pronouns might superficially appear as DPs. On the surface there is no difference between SG and STG dative constructions in verbal and adjectival environments when dative objects are personal pronouns.

(20)

      a.)   Ich helfe dir.

              I   help you

              "I am helping you."

      b.)   i: hɪlf   dər

              I   help you.Cl.

              "I am helping you."

The fact that dative lexical NPs involving *ɪn* can be coordinated with dative personal pronouns however suggests that there is a difference between (20a) and (20b). Following the *Law of Coordination of Likes* (Chomsky 1957, Schachter 1977, Williams 1978) different syntactic categories can't be coordinated. STG dative personal

pronouns in verbal and adjectival environments appear to be PPs regardless of the absence of default prepositions.

(21) ɛːr hɔt   miːr   unt ɪn   maɪnər frau a puax gek^{h}aːft
      he has me.DAT and in   my   wife a book bought
      "He has bought a book for me and my wife."

The indirect object *maɪnər frau* is obligatorily preceded by the default preposition. This lexical NP as indirect object is a PP. That *ɪn* is a preposition is strongly supported by the fact that it present in verbal and adjectival environments but absent in prepositional ones. Standard German dative case was shown to be assigned by verbal, adjectival and prepositional heads in chapter 1. STG was claimed to be different in the sense that P° is the only dative case assigning head. Therefore a default preposition functions as a case assigner in non-prepositional domains. Moreover there is a phonologically identical STG preposition *ɪn* (in) with semantic content as well (9).

Turning to example (21) again, the conjoined indirect object which is a personal pronoun (*miːr*) lacks *ɪn* but is still allowed to be coordinated with a dative objects that is doubtlessly a PP. Following the *Law of Coordination of Likes* (Chomsky 1957, Schachter 1977, Williams (1978) distinct syntactic categories can't be coordinated. Thus there is only one possibility left: The dative personal pronoun must be a PP as well. Another example further demonstrates that other instances of *ɪn* allow such coordination, too.

(22) ɛːr hɔt   miːr   unt ɪn   maɪnər frau gholfn̩
      he has me.DAT and in   my   wife helped
      "He has helped me and my wife."

I therefore conclude that the presence/absence of *ɪn* can't relate to a difference concerning different syntactic categories. Personal pronouns are still PPs but *ɪn* is prevented from surfacing. I claim that *ɪn* is prevented from surfacing since dative personal pronouns move from D° to P° in verbal and adjectival environments. I

propose a process of incorporation in the sense of Baker (1988). It has been shown that STG verbal and adjectival heads are defective as they are unable to check dative case. P° is the only syntactic head that functions as a dative case assigner in STG. Dative personal pronouns do not differ in categorial terms from dative lexical NPs involving *m*. The special property of STG dative personal pronouns in non-prepositional domains is that they incorporate into the case assigning head P°. The process of incorporating from D° into P° has the absence of the default preposition *m* as a consequence.

These basic proposals constitute the starting point for a more detailed analysis. There are still some questions to be answered. The two major issues to be addressed are the following. First the difference between dative lexical NPs and dative personal pronouns has to be motivated. It needs to be explained why dative personal pronouns do incorporate into P° whereas dative lexical NPs don't. The next section (2.3) accounts for the difference relating it to inner syntactic properties of personal pronouns vs. lexical NPs. Personal pronouns are argued to be bare Ds which allows them to incorporate into P°. Lexical NPs on the other hand are not bare Ds. They are syntactically too complex to incorporate. That the inner syntactic difference described holds for the two categories is supported by some tests regarding NP modification. Personal pronouns can't be subject to such NP modification. This inability is related to the property that no NP is present.

A second main question to account for relies in the suppression of *m*. What is the reason for its absence when some item incorporates into P°? Section 2.3 provides an answer to this question. It is proposed that *m* functions as a case assigner that enters a case checking relation with a following lexical NP. A second property of the default preposition is that it satisfies EPP properties of P°. Following Landau (2007) I assume that the EPP is a phonological constraint that can apply to any functional category. As STG *m* is semantically empty, I claim that it is a functional item. In the case of a dative personal pronoun that incorporates, P° is already filled. Therefore the presence of a default preposition to satisfy EPP properties of P° is not required.

2.3   Incorporation from D° into P°

In chapter 1 some basic properties of STG dative case have been investigated. P° was claimed to be the only syntactic head that is able to assign dative case in STG. Therefore non-prepositional dative case domains involve the default preposition *in*. The last two sections of the current chapter set the starting point for an analysis of STG dative personal pronouns. Dative personal pronouns are different in the sense that they lack the default preposition in non-prepositional domains. Nevertheless they appear as PPs as they can be coordinated with dative lexical NPs.
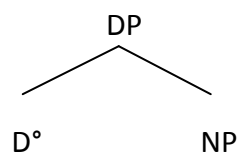
In this last section of the current chapter I account for the absence of *in* relating it to a process of incorporation. I propose that dative personal pronouns incorporate from D° into P° which causes the absence of *in*. Personal pronouns are able to undergo this process of incorporation in contrast to lexical NPs. More specifically personal pronouns are bare Ds whereas lexical NPs are not. Lexical NPs are syntactically too complex to incorporate.

(23)

    a.) – personal pronouns   DP
                                         |
                                       D°
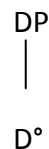
    b.) – lexical NPs   DP
                              /   \
                         D°   NP

Along these lines I will first provide some evidence for the inner syntactic differences shown in (23). Personal pronouns can't be modified by adjoined PPs that typically modify NPs. From this incompatibility I deduce that there is no NP-node present. Second I account for the inability of lexical NPs to incorporate. When incorporation of lexical NPs applies, the NP still fails to satisfy case checking requirements. Therefore the process of incorporation is not available when an NP-node is present. Concluding

this section I will give reasons for the suppression of the default preposition when dative objects are personal pronouns. Following Landau's (2007) proposal that the EPP can apply to any functional category, I suggest that the functional item *ɪn* satisfies EPP-properties of P° additionally to its function as a case assigner.

i.   NP modification

The incompatibility between personal pronouns and adjoined PPs typically modifying NPs justifies structure (23a). That personal pronouns can't be modified by these PPs suggests that no NP is present. So personal pronouns differ from lexical NPs in the sense that they are bare Ds.

An example of an adjoined PP modifying NPs is given in (24).

(24)

      a.)   a kʰoleːg fɔ maɪnər kʰlass hɔt dɪ aufgoːbm̩ fɔrgesn̩

               a friend of my class has the homework forgotten

               "A friend in my class forgot to do his homework."

      b.)   dɛːr kʰoleːg fɔ maɪnər kʰlass hɔt dɪ aufgoːbm̩ fɔrgesn̩

               this friend of my class has the homework forgotten

               "This friend in my class forgot to do his homework."

In (24a) the subject *a kʰoleːg* (a friend) is modified by the adjoined prepositional phrase *fɔ maɪnər kʰlass* (in my class). The availability of such modification is not limited to indefinite determiners. (24b) involves a demonstrative determiner preceding the NP and the adjunction of the PP is nevertheless licit. In contrast to (24), personal pronouns can't be modified as the NPs in (24) are.

(25)

      a.)   ɛːr hɔt dɪ aufgoːbm̩ fɔrgesn̩

               he has the homework forgotten
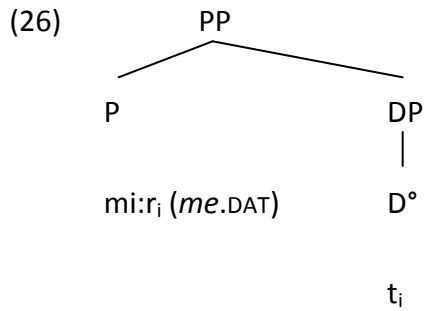
               "He forgot to do his homework.

b.)*   ɛːr fɔ maɪnər kʰlass hɔt dɪ aufgoːbm̩ fɔrgesn̩

he of my class has the homework forgotten

*"*He in my class forgot to do his homework."*

Sentence (25a) is ungrammatical when the subject personal pronoun is modified by an adjoined PP. I suggest that the reason for the incompatibility of personal pronouns and adjoined PPs is syntactic. Adjoined PPs as the one in (24) typically modify NPs. The ungrammaticality of (25b) can be explained in terms of the lack of an NP-node. (24) and (25) thus justify the proposal that STG personal pronouns are bare Ds (23a).
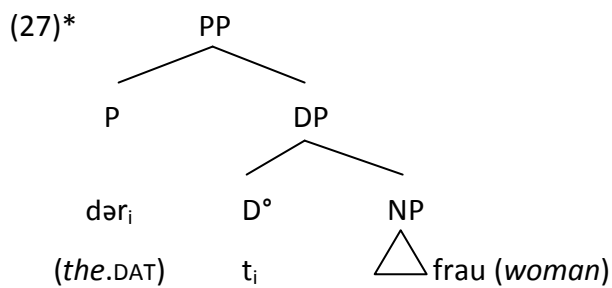
ii.   A consequence of inner syntactic differences

At this point I propose that the inner syntactic difference between STG personal pronouns and lexical NPs is responsible for the difference regarding the presence/absence of *in*. Dative lexical NPs constitute a first case. STG dative case can only be assigned by prepositional heads, hence there is a semantically empty case assigning preposition in verbal and adjectival dative case environments. Personal pronouns on the other hand incorporate from D° into P° in the sense of Baker (1988). This incorporation process causes the absence of the default preposition.

The reason for the difference described relies in differences concerning inner syntactic properties. Dative objects are in principle allowed to incorporate into P°, but have to qualify for it in terms of syntactical lightness. That there is a difference regarding inner syntactic properties is justified by the incompatibility between STG personal pronouns and adjoined PPs typically modifying NPs (25b). On the basis of this incompatibility I argue that STG personal pronouns are bare Ds as opposed to lexical NPs. The property of being bare Ds allows STG dative personal pronouns to incorporate into P°. A syntactic structure as (23a) qualifies for the incorporation process. The syntactic structure of STG personal pronouns makes it possible that they move from D° into P°.

(26)

```
            PP
          /    \
        P        DP
                 |
    miːrᵢ (me.DAT)   D°

                    tᵢ
```

(26)

$$\text{(26)}\quad
\begin{array}{c}
\text{PP} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{P} \qquad\qquad \text{DP} \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad | \\
\text{miːr}_i \ (\textit{me}.\text{DAT}) \quad \text{D°} \\
\\
\qquad\qquad\qquad t_i
\end{array}$$

STG lexical NPs are in turn not able to incorporate. Incorporation in the sense of Baker (1988) is an instance of head movement. Structure (23a) fits the picture, (24b) doesn't. The whole DP of a structure as (23b) is not allowed to move to P°. Movement of the determiner alone would in principle be licit, but the NP left would still fail to fulfill case checking requirements.

$$\text{(27)*}\quad
\begin{array}{c}
\text{PP} \\
\diagup \quad\quad \diagdown \\
\text{P} \qquad\qquad \text{DP} \\
\qquad\qquad \diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\quad \text{dər}_i \qquad \text{D°} \qquad \text{NP} \\
\ (\textit{the}.\text{DAT}) \quad t_i \quad \triangle\,\text{frau} (\textit{woman})
\end{array}$$

Thus lexical NPs will never qualify for the process of incorporation applying to STG personal pronouns. Instead a checking relation handles case checking requirements of dative lexical NPs.

$$\text{(28)}\quad
\begin{array}{c}
\text{PP} \\
\diagup \quad\quad \diagdown \\
\text{P} \qquad\qquad \text{DP} \\
\qquad\qquad \diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\quad \text{ɪn} \qquad \text{D°} \qquad \text{NP} \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad \triangle \\
\qquad \text{dər} \qquad \text{frau} \\
\quad \textit{in} \qquad \textit{the}.\text{DAT} \quad \textit{woman}
\end{array}$$
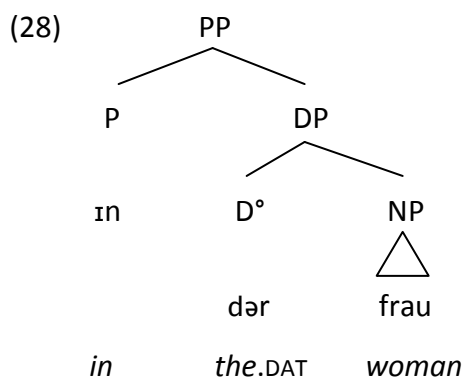
I therefore conclude that the difference between STG dative lexical NPs and dative personal pronouns is not a categorial one as dative personal pronouns appear as PPs

as well. The difference instead relies in the ability of personal pronouns to move from D° to P° which is linked to inner syntactic properties. A last question that remains in this chapter deals with the suppression of the default preposition.

iii.   The absence of *m*

To account for the fact that incorporation from D° into P° causes the absence of *m*, I propose that *m* has two properties. The first function of the default preposition is case assigning. As P° is the only head able to check dative case in STG, the default preposition satisfies case checking requirements of dative objects. In order to account for the suppression of *m* when dative objects are personal pronouns, a second property of the default preposition has to be established. At this point I propose that *m* satisfies EPP properties on P°. Landau (2007) argues that EPP properties can apply to any functional category. The default prepositional *m* is by definition a functional item since it is semantically empty. Following Landau's (2007) proposal I claim that P° displays EPP properties. In the case of a dative lexical NP in non-prepositional domains *m* functions as a case assigner and fulfills EPP properties of P°. In the case of dative personal pronouns it is absent, because EPP properties of P° are independently satisfied by the process of incorporation. STG dative pronouns in verbal and adjectival domains move from D° to P°. They don't need case, following Baker's (1988 p. 140-148) proposal that incorporates don't need case. Furthermore they end up occupying P°. There is no reason for the presence of *m* in such contexts.

2.4   Conclusion and overview of the remaining chapters

In this last section of the current chapter I first want to summarize the most important claims. Second I present the further organization of the thesis which is about related characteristics of STG Grammar and some related data from Italian.

The core proposals made up to this point concern both, general properties of STG dative case and more specific properties regarding the deviant behavior of STG dative personal pronouns. The main claim for the general behavior of STG dative case consists

in the proposal that P° is the only STG head able to assign dative case. Non-prepositional contexts demanding dative case thus include the semantically empty case assigning preposition *m*. This default preposition is absent when dative objects are personal pronouns. The absence of *m* was shown to be linked to the internal syntax of personal pronouns, not to their external syntax. The fact that it is possible to coordinate STG dative pronouns with dative lexical NPs involving the default preposition suggests that they are PPs. The suppression of *m* is related to a process of incorporation which is available for STG personal pronouns since they are bare Ds. Lexical NPs are in contrast syntactically too complex to incorporate. Incorporation automatically causes the absence of the default preposition. As *m* satisfies EPP properties of P°, it is not needed when dative objects are personal pronouns. Moving to P°, these pronouns already fulfill EPP requirements.

The next chapter deals with other kinds of STG pronouns showing that all STG pronouns apart from personal pronouns obligatorily involve *m*. They pattern with lexical NPs in this sense. The behavior of non-personal pronouns has two major consequences: First they very well fit the tests proposed for syntactic lightness further supporting the central claims regarding STG personal pronouns. STG personal pronouns were shown to be incompatible with adjoined PPs typically modifying NPs. Unsurprisingly non-personal STG pronouns again pattern with lexical NPs. The fact that they can be modified by adjoined PPs reveals that they involve covert NPs in contrast to STG personal pronouns. Their syntactic representation appears to be of the type (23b). The presence of covert NPs makes modification by adjoined PPs possible and disallows incorporation. Thus the presence of the default preposition automatically follows. A second important consequence of data concerning non-personal pronouns is following: Personal pronouns appear as a special case in the STG system as no other STG category dispenses with default prepositions. Unsurprisingly the presence of *m* is shown to be the general case.

In chapter 4 I further show that the STG properties discussed are not unique to STG grammar as many parallel properties apply to Italian as well. First it is shown that the

general properties of Italian dative case are the same as the ones for STG. Italian involves a semantically empty case assigning preposition (*a*) as well. The difference between STG and Italian is that in Italian the absence of the default preposition exclusively applies to clitic pronouns. Unfortunately the tests proposed for STG NP-modification don't yield the same results for Italian. I nevertheless propose that the similarities between STG and Italian dative case are far too obvious to be ignored. I therefore stipulate that the basic assumptions made for STG also count for Italian. The exact conditions for incorporation of Italian dative objects into P° are left open.

Another related topic is discussed in chapter 5. I propose that the syntactic design of STG personal pronouns is responsible for a further property, namely the ability of objects that are personal pronouns to surface in so called *Wackernagel positions*. Lexical NPs as well as other pronouns are banned from those positions in contrast to personal pronouns. The bare D-status of STG personal pronouns therefore appears to have three consequences: STG personal pronouns are banned from being modified by adjoined PPs, they are able to incorporate into P° and they are able to occupy Wackernagel positions for objects.

Having established to core proposals of STG dative case, these proposals will be extended to the above mentioned topics in chapters 3 to 5. Chapter 6 finally presents a conclusion and an outline of possible future research.

3 Other STG pronouns

This chapter deals with the behavior of other types of STG pronouns. Other STG pronouns reveal that the behavior of STG personal pronouns constitutes a special case. All other types of pronouns pattern with lexical NPs in verbal and adjectival dative case domains. They obligatorily involve the default preposition *ɪn*. Along these lines I will discuss demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns and wh-pronouns as representatives for the class *non-personal pronouns*. Crucially STG non-personal pronouns also match lexical NPs regarding modification by adjoined PPs. In contrast to

personal pronouns they allow modification by adjoined PPs typically modifying NPs. From this property I deduce that other STG pronouns involve covert NPs. They pattern with (23b) rather than with (23a).

(29)
```
            DP
           /  \
         D°     NP
      maɪnɪgər   Ø
      mine.masc.
```
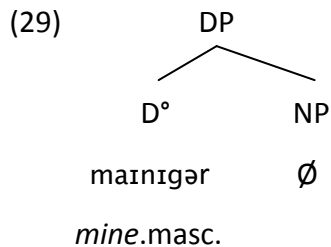
I suggest that this inner syntactic structure has two consequences: First other STG pronouns can be modified by adjoined PPs typically modifying NPs. Since a covert NP node is present, such modification is licit. Second the presence of the NP node prevents other STG pronouns in D° from incorporating into P°. As was discussed in chapter 2, syntactic lightness determines whether an item can incorporate into P° in non-prepositional dative case contexts. The presence of an NP node disallows incorporation. Analogous to the case of lexical NPs the default preposition *ɪn* functions as a case assigner and satisfies EPP properties of P°.

(30)
```
            PP
           /  \
          P     DP
          ɪn    /  \
              D°    NP
          maɪnɪgər   Ø
          mine.masc.DAT
```
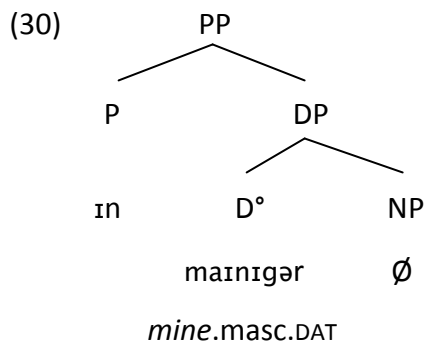
Altogether the behavior of STG non-personal pronouns supports the main claims regarding the difference between lexical NPs and personal pronouns in STG non-prepositional dative case contexts. It is furthermore shown STG personal pronouns constitute a special case even within the pronominal domain.

In a first section of this chapter I present data concerning the obligatory presence of the default preposition. A second section deals with the availability of modification by

adjoined PPs. In a third section I will finally summarize the data demonstrated throughout the chapter presenting an overview of STG nominal forms in verbal and adjectival dative case environments.

3.1   The presence of *in*

All types of STG pronouns apart from personal pronouns obligatorily involve the default preposition *in*. As representatives of non-personal pronouns I discuss demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns and wh-pronouns. Starting with demonstrative pronouns an objection to the significance of the obligatory presence of *in* could be that those demonstrative items are not necessarily pronouns. As there is no morphological difference between demonstrative determiners and demonstrative items that are not followed by overt NPs, such an objection might actually be justified. This however can't be the general explanation for STG non-personal pronouns and the presence of the default preposition. Possessive pronouns do differ from possessive determiners in phonological/morphological terms. Furthermore wh-pronouns constitute another clear case of pronominal items obligatorily involving *in*. These observations then show that STG pronouns apart from personal pronouns do in fact pattern with lexical NPs.

i.   Demonstrative pronouns

The obligatory presence of the default preposition in contexts involving demonstrative pronouns is exemplified in (31). The demonstrative pronoun *deː* (these) is preceded by the default preposition in (31a). Omitting it is ungrammatical as (31b) demonstrates.

(31)

     a.)   iː g iːb ɪn   deː   a puax

              I give in the.Pl.DAT a book

              "I am giving a book to these people."

     b.)*   iː g iːb   deː   a puax

              I give the.Pl.DAT a book

Demonstrative pronouns are not such a clear case, however, since they are not necessarily pronominal. As there is no phonological/morphological difference between demonstrative determiners and demonstrative items that are not followed by overt NPs, it is not clear whether the item *de:* in (31a) constitutes a pronoun. An analogous example for a demonstrative determiner is given in (32a).

(32)

    a.)   i: g i:b ɪn   de: kʰole:gn̩   a puax

           I give in the.Pl.DAT friends a book

           "I am giving a book to these friends."

    b.)   i: g i:b ɪn   de: a puax

           I give in the.Pl.DAT a book

           "I am giving a book to these people."

The demonstrative items in (32a and b) are homophonous, so the demonstrative item in (31a, 32b) could also be an instance of the determiner present in (32a) which is free to select for an overt NP (32a) or a covert NP (32b). This explanation would have the presence of *ɪn* as a natural consequence.

At this point I suggest that it is not very central whether *de:* in (31a, 32b) is pronominal or not. Possessive pronouns and wh-pronouns are clearly pronominal as there are no homophonous counterparts with overt NPs. Thus STG personal pronouns will be shown to display a deviant behavior even within the pronominal domain.

ii.   **Possessive pronouns**

Possessive pronouns resemble lexical NPs and demonstrative items in (31a, 32b) in the sense that they are obligatorily preceded by the default preposition. The possessive pronoun in (33a) is preceded by *ɪn*. (33b) illustrates the ungrammatical counterpart without the default preposition.

(33)

    a.)   i: g i:b ɪn   maɪnɪgər   a puax

            I give in mine.fem.DAT   a book

            "I am giving a book to mine."

    b.)^(*) i: g i:b   maɪnɪgər a puax

            I give   mine.fem.DAT a book

Analogous examples with possessive determiners reveal that the possessive item *maɪnɪgər* (mine) is pronominal since there is a phonological/morphological difference between the possessive item in (33a) and the one in (34a).

(34)

    a.)   i: g i:b ɪn   maɪnər   frau   a puax

            I give in mine.fem.DAT woman   a book

            "I am giving a book to my wife."

    b.)*   i: g i:b ɪn   maɪnɪgər   frau   a puax

            I give in mine.fem.DAT woman   a book

            "I am giving a book to my wife."

    c.)^(*) i: g i:b ɪn   maɪnər   a puax

            I give in mine.fem.DAT   a book

            "I am giving a book to mine."

(34b) shows that the usage of the item *maɪnɪgər* (used in 33a) is ungrammatical. (34c) furthermore demonstrates that the usage of the possessive determiner in a pronominal frame is ungrammatical. The phonological/morphological difference between possessive pronouns on one side (33a) and possessive determiners one the other one (34a) clearly suggests that the possessive item in (34a) is a possessive pronoun.

iii.   Wh-pronouns

Another clear case of an STG pronoun-type obligatorily involving the default

preposition *ɪn* is the instance of wh-pronouns. As sentences in (35) show, wh-pronouns

have to be preceded by *ɪn* (35a). (35b) shows that the omission of *ɪn* is ungrammatical.

(35)

    a.)   ɪn ve:n hɔn ɪ   es puax gebm̩

           in who have I.Cl   a book   given

           "To whom have I given the book?"

    b.)*   ve:n hɔn ɪ   es puax gebm̩

           who have I.Cl   a book   given

Again an analogous determiner (36) differs in phonological/morphological terms from

the pronoun in (35a), suggesting that *ve:n* (who) in (35a) is a pronoun.

(36)   ɪn vɛlxn̩ kʰole:g hɔn ɪ   es puax gebm̩

            in which friend have I.Cl   a book   given

            "To which friend have I given the book?"

Wh-pronouns thus constitute another case of STG pronouns obligatorily preceded by

ɪn. These data altogether show that the presence/absence of *ɪn* doesn't simply

concern a difference between pronouns and lexical NPs. Personal pronouns constitute

a special case even within the pronominal domain. That there is an inner syntactic

difference between STG personal pronouns on one hand and STG non-personal

pronouns on the other hand is further supported by the fact that STG non-personal

pronouns can be modified by adjoined PPs in contrast to STG personal pronouns.

3.2   The availability of Modification

The test subject to modification by adjoined PPs yields some support for structure (29)

and its assumed consequences. It justifies the claim that STG non-personal pronouns

have bigger syntactic structure than personal pronouns. Other STG pronouns do not only differ from personal pronouns in terms of the presence of the default preposition. They are also admissible for modification by adjoined PPs typically modifying NPs. In this sense STG non-personal pronouns resemble STG lexical NPs concerning both properties: The presence of the default preposition *in* and the availability of the mentioned modifications. That non-personal pronouns can be modified by those adjoined PPs directly confirms the proposed structure in (29). These inner syntactic properties are finally claimed to be responsible for the inability of incorporation. More specifically STG non-personal pronouns are syntactically too complex to incorporate. Along these lines I first present the data subject to modification. Second I describe how inner syntactic properties block incorporation.

i.   Modification

The difference between lexical NPs and personal pronouns is repeated in the example below. Personal pronouns can't be modified by the PP *fɔ maɪnər kʰlass* (in my class) in (37b) which modifies the NP in (37a).

(37)

      a.)   a kʰole:g fɔ   maɪnər kʰlass hɔt dɪ aufgo:bm̩ fɔrgesn̩

               a friend of   my   class has the homework forgotten

               "A friend in my class forgot to do his homework."

      b.)*   ɛ:r fɔ   maɪnər kʰlass hɔt dɪ aufgo:bm̩ fɔrgesn̩

               he of   my   class has the homework forgotten

               *"*He in my class forgot to do his homework."*

Other STG pronouns do not show such a constraint. They resemble (37a), not (37b). A first example in (38) shows a demonstrative pronoun *dɛ:r* (the-one) modified by the adjoined PP *fɔ maɪnər kʰlass*.

(38)   dɛːr   fɔ maɪnər kʰlass hɔt dɪ aufgoːbm̩ fɔrgesn̩

The-one of   my   class has the homework forgotten

"The one in my class forgot to do his homework."

On the basis that demonstrative pronouns are not necessarily pronominal (38) one could argue that the grammaticality of (38) follows from the non-pronominal status of the demonstrative item. However, the availability of being modified by adjoined PP doesn't apply exclusively to demonstrative items, but also to possessive pronouns and wh-pronouns.

(39)   maɪnɪgɛ fɔ amɛːrɪkʰa saɪn stɔanɔlt   (dɪ groːseltərn)

mine   from America are stoan-old

"Mine from America are old as the hills."   *(the grandparents)*

In (39) the possessive pronoun *maɪnɪgɛ* is modified by the adjoined PP *fɔ amɛːrɪkʰa* suggesting that possessive pronouns involve a covert NP. (40) further shows that wh-pronouns can also be modified by adjoined PPs typically modifying NPs. The wh-pronoun *vɛːr* is modified by the adjoined PP *fɔ maɪnər kʰlass*.

(40)   vɛːr   fɔ maɪnər kʰlass hɔt dɪ aufgoːbm̩ fɔrgesn̩

who   of   my   class has the homework forgotten

"Who in my class forgot to do his homework?"

So other STG pronouns pattern with lexical NPs in this sense as well. I suggest that they can be modified by adjoined PPs typically modifying NPs, because there is a covert NP node present.
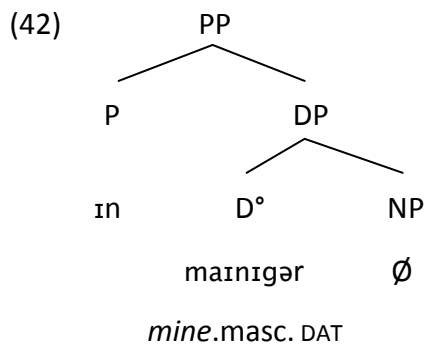
(41)   DP
              ╱   ╲
          D°   NP

       maɪnɪgər   ∅

        mine.masc.

ii.   Consequences

The presence of a covert NP node also causes STG non-pronouns to disqualify for incorporation into P°. STG pronouns apart from personal pronouns appear to match lexical NPs regarding inner syntactic properties. The presence of an NP node allows the mentioned modifications and disallows incorporation. Lexical NPs were shown to lack the syntactic lightness responsible for the incorporation of personal pronouns. As the availability of modification by adjoined PPs suggests, STG non-personal pronouns also disqualify for incorporation into P° because they are syntactically not light enough. The structure for other STG pronouns involving the default preposition is illustrated below.

(42)
```
              PP
           /      \
         P          DP
                  /    \
        ɪn      D°      NP
             maɪnɪgər    Ø
           mine.masc. DAT
```

I propose that the presence of an NP blocks incorporation. Whether this NP is overt (lexical NPs) or covert (other STG pronouns) doesn't seem to play a role. The inner syntactic design shown in (23b) and (41) generally disqualifies for incorporation. The incorporation process requires items to be bare Ds which is not the case for STG non-personal pronouns, as the availability of mentioned modifications shows. Therefore STG non-personal pronouns in verbal and adjectival dative case domains are obligatorily preceded by *ɪn*. The default preposition functions as a case assigner as it enters a checking relation with the dative object. Second *ɪn* satisfies EPP properties of P°. Other STG pronouns thus appear to pattern with lexical NPs because of the shared involvement of an NP node.

3.3   Conclusion

Concluding this chapter I want to highlight two major achievements of the data presented. First the reliability of the modification test is increased. Chapter 2 has shown that items which are able to be modified by adjoined PPs are not incorporable. On the other hand items that are not able to be modified by adjoined PPs can incorporate. The connection between modification by PPs and incorporation is supported by the behavior of STG non-personal pronouns. As they lack the ability to incorporate, it is expected that they can be modified by adjoined PPs typically modifying NPs. The data (38-40) demonstrate that this is indeed the case. The fact that STG non-personal pronouns display the expected behavior supports the modification test as a diagnostic for syntactic lightness. A second important consequence that follows from the behavior of STG non-personal pronouns is that STG personal pronouns appear to display deviant properties even within the pronominal domain. The contrast between STG dative lexical NPs and STG dative personal pronouns is not simply related to categorial differences between pronouns and lexical nouns.

Table (43) below summarizes the central properties: Items need to qualify for the incorporation process in term of syntactic lightness. The inability to be modified by adjoined PPs can be used as a test for syntactic lightness, more precisely as a test for some items' status of being bare Ds. It appears that whenever an item disqualifies for modification by adjoined PPs, it is light enough to incorporate into P°.

(43)

	Default preposition	Modification by PPs
Lexical NPs	yes	yes
Other pronouns	yes	yes
Personal pronouns	no	no

4   Italian data

Having defined the properties of STG dative case in non-prepositional domains I will move on to data from Italian. It is shown that STG doesn't display a completely unique behavior. First the general properties of non-prepositional dative case apply to Italian in exactly the same fashion. Italian also has a default preposition (*a*) that surfaces in non-prepositional dative case environments. Even though Italian displays poor case morphology, relative pronouns feature a morphological dative case marking. They can therefore be used to exemplify that the item *a* which precedes dative DPs is not a case marker. The complementary distribution of *a* and prepositions also selecting dative case suggests that the item *a* is a preposition. *A* is proposed to have the same function as STG *ɪn*. It is a semantically empty preposition that functions as a case assigner.

A second property that resembles STG is that the default preposition *a* is absent in certain contexts. These contexts differ from the ones for STG, however. The absence of STG *ɪn* was shown to apply to the whole class of personal pronouns. Italian *a*, in contrast, is only omitted when personal pronouns are clitic pronouns. It is still obligatorily present when dative objects are strong personal pronouns. Like in STG, the absence of default prepositions is not linked to specific syntactic environments but to certain categories. In the case of Italian it is the category of clitic pronouns.

In the STG analysis I claimed that the property of being bare Ds allows STG personal pronouns to incorporate. Modification-tests were used to support the proposal that STG personal pronouns are bare Ds. Unfortunately this claim can't be extended to the case of Italian. The tests concerning modification that were used for the STG analysis don't yield the same results for Italian. Italian requirements for incorporation into P° appear to differ from STG ones. At this point I will not present a concrete account on the conditions for the absence of *a*. I propose that a solution could be related to finer syntactic differences which can't be captured by the tests used to classify STG pronouns. A second possible account could be related to phonological criteria.

A comparison between STG and Italian is nevertheless very instructive. First STG doesn't appear as a unique case since Italian displays the same behavior subject to general properties concerning non-prepositional dative case. Second the STG analysis leads to an improved account on the absence of Italian *a*.

In a first section of this chapter I will introduce the general properties of Italian non-prepositional dative case. A second section deals with the cases in which *a* is absent. In a third section I will argue how the analysis of STG should be extended to Italian. A last section summarizes the chapter.

4.1 General properties

Italian non-prepositional dative case contexts involve the item *a*. As Italian displays a much poorer case morphology than STG does, *a* could in principle be analyzed as a case marker. I will nevertheless show that such an argument doesn't hold since there are cases involving morphological dative case marking on DPs that clearly exclude such an approach. Instead I will claim that *a* is a preposition. *A* is not only shown to precede dative DPs that are independently case marked. It also appears in complementary distribution with other prepositions exactly as it is the case for STG. Unsurprisingly there is a locative preposition *a* as well.

An instance of morphological dative case marking is the domain of relative pronouns. Dative relative pronouns differ from nominative and accusative relative pronouns in phonological/morphological terms. Two examples for nominative and accusative are given below.

(44)

    a.)   La donna, che mi ha salutato, è mia amica.

            the woman who me.Cl. has greeted is my friend

            "The woman that greeted me is my friend."

    b.)   La donna, che hai visto, è mia amica.

            the woman who have.2ndSg. seen is my friend

            "The woman that you saw is my friend.

(44a) involves a nominative relative pronoun, (44b) an accusative one. These two are homophonous (*che*). When a relative clause is prepositional, a different relative pronoun shows up.

(45)

      a.)   La   donna, per cui   ho   lavorato, è mia zia.

               the woman for whom have.1stSg.   worked is my aunt

               "The woman for whom I have worked is my aunt."

      b.)*   La   donna, per che   ho   lavorato, è mia zia.

               the woman for who have.1stSg.   worked is my aunt

In (45a) the relative pronoun *cui* is used. The same sentence involving *che* is ungrammatical as (45b) shows. Consider the sentences in (46) next. The usage of *cui* is not allowed in a nominative context (46a). Neither it is in an accusative context (46b).

(46)

      a.)*   La   donna, cui   mi   ha salutato, è mia amica.

               the woman who me.Cl. has greeted is my friend

               "The woman that greeted me is my friend."

      b.)*   La   donna, cui   hai   visto, è mia amica.

               the woman who have.2ndSg. seen is my friend

               "The woman that you saw is my friend.

These data reveal that the nominative and accusative form of Italian relative pronouns is *che* whereas the dative form is *cui*. Sentence (45a) exemplifies that Italian prepositions assign dative case to following DPs. Unsurprisingly it is also the dative form *cui* that is used when relative clauses involve the item *a*. (47a) gives an example of a verb selecting a sole dative object (*telefonare* – telephone). Again the usage of the nominative and accusative form can't be used (47b).

(47)

    a.)   La donna, a cui   ho   telefonato, è mia amica.

           the woman to who have.1stSg.   called   is my friend

           "The woman that greeted me is my friend."

    b.)*   La donna, a che   ho   telefonato, è mia amica.

           the woman to who have.1stSg.   called   is my friend

(47a) shows that the item *a* precedes DPs that are independently case marked. So *a* can't simply be treated as a dative case marker. I suggest that it can neither be considered as some kind of doubling case marker. Sportiche (1993) has proposed a related account for clitic doubling where clitic pronouns are analyzed as doubling items. Further Italian data reveal that an account on these lines is ruled out as well. Italian again resembles STG in the sense that prepositional domains exclude the presence of *a*.

(48)*   La donna, per a   cui   ho   lavorato, è mia zia.

             the woman for to whom have.1stSg. worked is my aunt

             "The woman for whom I have worked is my aunt."

The ungrammaticality of (48) is crucial because it demonstrates that the item *a* and other prepositions are indeed in complementary distribution as it is the case for STG *ın*, too. *A* can't surface in prepositional environments. If *a* was some kind of a doubling case marker it would be expected to surface in any instance of dative case. Prepositions clearly select dative case, as (45) exemplifies, but the presence of *a* is ruled out (48). Moreover there is a locative preposition *a* as well, exemplified in (49):

(49) Voglio   andare   al   cinema.

      want. 1stSg. go.Inf. to-the cinema

      "I want to go to the cinema."

I thus conclude that Italian perfectly resembles STG. *A* is a semantically empty preposition that functions as a case assigner. I propose that P° is the only syntactic head in Italian that is able to assign dative case. Therefore the semantically empty

preposition *a* satisfies case checking requirements of dative objects in non-prepositional domains.

4.2   The absence of *a*

A second similarity between STG and Italian is that default prepositions are omitted in certain contexts. As respects this topic there is a difference between STG and Italian, however. In STG the absence of the default preposition *in* was shown to apply to the whole category of personal pronouns. In Italian the absence of *a* is limited to clitic pronouns. Some Data concerning Italian clitic pronouns reveal that the absence of *a* is linked to the category of clitic pronouns, not to specific syntactic environments.

For the case of STG the inner syntactic property of being a bare D was claimed to be responsible for the absence of the default preposition. A test that justifies the bare-D-status of STG personal pronouns is the ban on modification by adjoined PPs. Since this test doesn't yield the same results for Italian, I have no specific account on the exact requirements driving the absence of *a*. Italian strong personal pronouns obligatorily involve *a*, but can't be modified by adjoined PPs. I suggest that a solution relates either to phonological criteria or to finer syntactic differences that can't be captured by the tests concerning modification by adjoined PPs.

i.   Data

Dative clitic pronouns obligatorily lack the default preposition. Consider first an example involving a lexical NP preceded by *a* in (50a). The presence of *a* is obligatory. Sentence (50b) without the default preposition is ungrammatical. Clitic pronouns are shown to behave the opposite way. Sentence (50c) involves a clitic pronouns and *a* is absent. In (50d) it is present and the sentence is ungrammatical. I therefore conclude that Italian dative clitic pronouns obligatorily lack *a*.

(50)

    a.)   Ho   telefonato a mio zio.

           have.1stSg.   called   to my uncle

"I called my uncle."

b.)*   Ho   telefonato mio zio.

           have.1stSg.   called   my uncle

c.)   Gli   ho   telefonato.

           him.Cl. have.1stSg.   called

"I called her."

d.)*   A   gli   ho   telefonato.

           to him.Cl. have.1stSg.   called

Italian strong personal pronouns differ from clitic pronouns in the sense that they are preceded by default prepositions. (51a) gives an example. The strong personal pronoun *lei* is preceded by *a*. It is shown that Italian personal pronouns indeed pattern with lexical NPs (51c). Omitting *a* in the context of strong personal pronouns is ungrammatical as (51b) shows.

(51)

a.)   Ho   regalato una torta a lei.

           have.1stSg. donated a cake to her

"I presented her with a cake."

b.)*   Ho   regalato una torta lei.

           have.1stSg. donated a cake her

c.)   Ho   regalato una torta a mio zio.

           have.1stSg. donated a cake to my uncle

"I presented my uncle with a cake."

ii.   Clitic pronouns

Further data reveal that the absence of the default preposition is linked to the category of clitic pronouns, not to specific syntactic circumstances. Two syntactic contexts involving clitic pronouns both obligatorily lack the default preposition *a*. Therefore I conclude that the absence of *a* relates to some properties regarding clitic pronouns, not to the syntactic environments in which they surface. Italian clitic

pronouns surface in two possible environments. They appear obligatorily to the left of finite verbs and obligatorily to the right of non-finite verbs (see Wanner 1987 for a more detailed discussion). As expected, the absence of the default preposition applies to both cases.

Consider first an instance of a finite verb. Clitic pronouns obligatorily precede finite verbs. In (52a) the clitic pronoun is on the left of the finite verb and the sentence is fine. (52b) gives an example involving a lexical NP as dative object. (52c) shows that clitic pronouns in finite contexts can't surface in positions for lexical NPs. As expected, (52a) lacks the default preposition whereas (52b) doesn't. (52) thus resembles the difference exemplified in (50).

(52)

    a.)   Ti   scriverò   una lettera.

          You.Cl. DAT   write.1stSg.FUT   a   letter

          "I will write you a letter."

    b.)   Scriverò   una lettera a Maria.

          write.1stSg.FUT   a   letter to Mary

          "I will write Mary a letter."

    c.)*   Scriverò   una lettera   ti.

          write.1stSg.FUT   a   letter You.Cl.DAT

Non-finite contexts also resemble the difference between clitic pronouns and lexical NPs. Clitic pronouns are restricted to the right of the non-finite verb as it is the case in (53a). They are not allowed to surface on the left of non-finite verbs (53b). Moreover dative clitics in non-finite context also lack the default preposition *a*. (53c) involving a lexical NP does involve the default preposition in contrast to (53a, b).

(53)

a.)   Mi   mancano   i   soldi   per   mandarti una lettera.

       Me.Cl.DAT   lack.3rdPl.   the.Pl money to send+you.Cl.DAT a   letter

"I don't have the money to sent you a letter."

b.)* Mi mancano i soldi per ti mandare una lettera.

Me.Cl.DAT lack.3rdPl. the.Pl money to you.Cl.DAT send a letter

c.) Mi mancano i soldi per mandare una lettera a mio zio.

Me.Cl.DAT lack.3rdPl. the.Pl money to send a letter to my uncle

"I don't have the money to send a letter to my uncle."

On the basis of the fact that the default preposition is absent in two different syntactic contexts I conclude that the absence of *a* is linked to properties of clitic pronouns, not to the syntactic positions in which they appear.

iii. Issues

The difference between STG items that lack the default preposition *in* and ones that obligatorily involve it was linked to inner syntactic properties. More specifically the inner syntactic structure of a bare D was argued to allow incorporation into P°. I used the inability of being modified by adjoined PPs as a test for the bare D-status of STG personal pronouns. Unfortunately the tests proposed for STG don't provide the same results for Italian. Clitic and strong personal pronouns both lack the ability to be modified by adjoined PPs typically modifying NPs.[6] Strong pronouns can't be modified either even though they obligatorily involve *a*. I suggest that the requirements for incorporation are different in Italian. They could either relate to phonological criteria or to finer syntactic differences that can't be captured by the tests concerning modification. These are two possible starting points for an analysis. A concrete account on the conditions for the absence of *a* is left open.

(54) shows that Italian strong personal pronouns disqualify for modification by adjoined PPs but are still obligatorily preceded by *a* as (51) shows.

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[6] Note that other Italian pronouns can be modified by adjoined PPs. An example of a demonstrative pronouns is given below:

Ho visto quelli della mia classe.
have.1stSg. seen these of my class
I have seen these in my class.

(54)

    a.)*   L'   della mia classe   ho   visto.

            him.Cl. of   my class have.1^{st}Sg. seen

            *"*I have seen him in my class."* (Intended reading: PP modifies pronoun)

    c.)*   Ho   visto   lui   della mia classe

            have.1^{st}Sg. seen him of my class

(54a) first gives an example of a clitic pronoun. As expected it can't be modified by an adjoined PP. (54b) further shows that this inability also applies to strong personal pronouns. They pattern with STG strong personal pronouns in the sense that they can't be modified by adjoined PPs. If the condition for the absence of *a* was some items' status of being bare Ds, Italian strong personal pronouns should be allowed to dispense with *a*. The fact that Italian strong personal pronouns still obligatorily involve *a* (51) despite being bare Ds (54b) suggests that the conditions for the absence of *a* differ from the conditions for the absence of *ın*.

At this point I will not provide a concrete account on the requirements for the absence of *a*. Some possible starting points for a solution are following. First these requirements could be linked to phonological criteria, hence phonological weight. A second possibility would be related to finer syntactic differences that can't be captured by the tests used for STG. I will not provide an exact solution. Nevertheless a comparison between STG and Italian contexts for the absence of default prepositions is telling. It is shown that STG and Italian are not only similar in respect of general properties subject to non-prepositional dative case. Italian also resembles STG in the sense that it displays contexts for the absence of default prepositions. Moreover it is still the case that modifiable categories obligatorily involve *a*.

4.3   Missing data - Coordination

A very central data-point for STG is that coordination of dative personal pronouns and dative lexical NPs is admissible. On the basis of such coordination I concluded that STG

dative personal pronouns must be PPs. This proposal is very central for the analysis of the absence of *in* setting the starting point for the incorporation analysis.

The absence of Italian *a* was shown to apply to the category of clitic pronouns exclusively. Along these lines Italian fails to provide the data subject to coordination. General conditions disallow clitic pronouns to participate in coordination. Clitic pronouns are the only category that lacks the default preposition. Therefore Italian dative items lacking *a* are never coordinated with Italian dative items involving *a*. Independent restrictions on clitic pronouns cause the inavailability of relevant data regarding coordination.

The affinity between STG and Italian however suggests that some characteristics of the STG analysis should be extended to Italian. Even though Italian fails to supply direct data revealing that dative clitic pronouns are PPs, I will still stipulate that they are. Italian resembles STG in respect of general properties subject to non-prepositional dative case. Moreover it displays contexts for the absence of default prepositions, as STG does, too. Even though these contexts are different in Italian, I suggest that Italian dative clitic pronouns incorporate into P°.

Consider first some examples for the restrictions on clitic pronouns to occur in coordination. (55a) gives an example containing a dative clitic pronouns and a dative lexical NP preceded by *a*. (55b) reveals that the ungrammaticality of (55a) is not linked to the fact that *a* is absent on clitic pronouns and present on lexical NPs. There appear to be general restrictions at work, which disallow clitic pronouns to occur in coordination. Both examples are ungrammatical which suggests a general constraint on Italian clitic pronouns and coordination.

(56)

      a.)*   Ti   scriverò   una lettera e a   tuo zio.

              you.2[nd]Sg.Cl.DAT write. 1[st]Sg.FUT   a   letter and to your uncle

              "I will write a letter to you and your uncle."

b.)*   L'   ho   vista e   la   sua amica.

　　　　　her.Cl.ACC have.1stSg. seen e the.fem her friend.fem

　　　　　"I have seen her and her friend."

Furthermore the restriction on clitic pronouns and coordination is not a special property of Italian. Cardinaletti and Starke (1993) give examples from many languages proposing that the inability to participate in coordination is a universal property of deficient pronouns. STG, as an example, involves such a constraint, too. (57) gives an example analogous to (56b). Again clitic pronouns are not allowed to participate in coordination.

(57)*   i: hɔn sɪ   unt   dɪ   ɔndərn gse:gŋ̇

　　　　　I have her.Cl. and the.Pl. others seen

　　　　　" I saw her and the others."

The fact that the absence of Italian *a* is limited to clitic pronouns has as a consequence that Italian fails to provide evidence for the claim that dative clitic pronouns are PPs. STG on the other hand provides very good arguments for the claim that STG dative personal pronouns are PPs. The properties regarding dative case in non-prepositional environments are very alike in Italian and STG. P° is the only syntactic head able to assign dative case in both. Moreover both display the absence of default prepositions when dative objects belong to given categories. Therefore it seems suggestive to extend the claims made for STG to Italian.

The availability of STG coordination of dative personal pronouns and dative lexical NPs is repeated in (58):

(58)   ɛ:r hɔt mi:r   unt   ɪn   maɪnər frau gholfŋ̇

　　　he has me.DAT and in   my   wife helped

　　　"He has helped me and my wife."

4.4   Conclusion

Summarizing the data presented throughout this chapter two insights follow from a comparison between STG and Italian non-prepositional dative case domains. A first achievement is that STG is shown not to display completely unique properties. In many respects Italian resembles STG. General properties concerning non-prepositional dative case appear to be identical in STG and Italian. In both P° is the only head to check dative case. Thus non-prepositional dative case contexts involve default prepositions. Second STG and Italian default prepositions are absent under specific circumstances. I proposed that the absence of default prepositions relates to a process of incorporation. Certain items incorporate into P° which causes the absence of default prepositions. The conditions for incorporation were shown to be different in STG and Italian.

A second insight is that the STG analysis leads to an improved analysis for the absence of Italian *a*. Some data that are crucial for the analysis of STG are missing in Italian due to independent reasons. Italian clitic pronouns are generally excluded from coordination. A comparison with STG reasonably sheds light on Italian.

5   Wackernagel positions

In this chapter I want to introduce an additional property of STG grammar that appears to be closely related to the main proposals made in chapter 2. The syntactic lightness of STG personal pronouns was demonstrated to be responsible for the lack of modification by adjoined PPs. Additionally I have argued that the bare-D-status of STG personal pronouns allows them to incorporate into P° in verbal and adjectival dative case contexts.

I will show that the status of being bare Ds also accounts for the ability of objects that are personal pronouns to surface in so called *Wackernagel Positions*. In other words: Any object (dative or accusative) that is able to incorporate and unable to be modified

by adjoined PPs automatically qualifies for surfacing in Wackernagel positions. In contrast, any object (dative or accusative) that is able to be modified by PPs, and unable to incorporate, automatically disqualifies for surfacing in Wackernagel positions. A discussion of several STG data reveals that this correlation born out. The ability of pronominal objects to surface in Wackernagel positions thus appears as a third consequence of syntactic lightness.

Along these lines I will first define some basic characteristics of STG Wackernagel positions. Wackernagel positions (WPs henceforth) are located on the immediate right of C°. Clitic pronouns are restricted to those positions. A combination of more than one clitic pronoun is possible.

Having defined basic properties, three STG datasets will be presented, all supporting the above claims. Objects that are lexical NPs are banned from WPs. Strong personal pronouns are in contrast allowed in WPs, patterning with clitic pronouns. Focused personal pronouns are used as representatives of strong personal pronouns, because *The Principle of Choice* (Cardinaletti & Starke 1994) rules out the usage of unfocused strong personal whenever clitic personal pronouns can be used. As expected, other STG pronouns pattern with lexical NPs. Objects that are demonstrative and possessive pronouns are banned from WPs.

5.1   Preview and general properties of WPs

STG personal pronouns were shown to differ from lexical NPs and other pronouns in two respects. First they are unable to be modified by adjoined PPs. Second they are able to incorporate in verbal and adjectival dative case contexts. This chapter reveals a further property that distinguishes STG personal pronouns from other categories, namely the ability for objects to surface in WPs. I argue that this property is also linked to the syntactic lightness of STG personal pronouns in contrast to lexical NPs and other pronouns. Before I discuss the central data supporting these claims I want to present some general properties of WPs.

Wackernagel positions are located onto the right of C° and host arguments of certain categories. Clitic pronouns, for instance, are admissible in WPs and even restricted to WPs as exemplified in sentences (59). (59a) demonstrates the unmarked order of subject and dative object with the subject preceding the object. When the dative object is a clitic personal pronoun however, it obligatorily precedes the subject. (59b) shows that a dative clitic pronoun is not allowed to be located onto the right of a subject lexical NP. In (59c) the clitic pronoun precedes the subject and the sentence is fine. It occupies WPs which are located to the right of C°.

(59)

      a.)   geʃtərn   hɔt   dər   polɪtsɪʃt ɪn   an ɔltər frau   gholfn̩

             yesterday has the.NOM policeman in a.DAT   old woman helped

             "Yesterday the policeman helped an old woman."

      b.)*   geʃtərn   hɔt dər polɪtsɪʃt   mər   gholfn̩

             yesterday has the policeman me.DAT.Cl helped

             "Yesterday the policeman helped me."

      c.)   geʃtərn   hɔt   mər   dər   polɪtsɪʃt gholfn̩

             yesterday hasme.DAT.Cl the policeman helped

             "Yesterday the policeman helped me."

Another property subject to WPs is that two or more clitic pronouns can co-occur. An instance of such a co-occurrence is given in (60). The order of given clitic arguments is very complex, being dependent on various constraints. One of them is the *Person Case Constraint* (see Anagnostopoulou (2007) for a discussion of the PCC in Germanic). At this point I will not discuss the order of STG clitic pronouns in detail. For present purposes the simple property that STG clitic pronouns do co-occur is sufficient.

(60)   geʃtərn   hɔt   ər   mər   gholfn̩

                  yesterday has he.NOM.Cl. me.DAT.Cl helped

                  "Yesterday he helped me."

The two properties exemplified in (59) and (60) constitute the basis for the tests that will be used to define whether objects of certain categories in the following section are in WPs or not. First clitic pronouns are restricted to WPs which are located on the immediate right of C°. Second two or more clitic pronouns are admissible in WPs. On the basis of these characteristics an item that is located between C° and a clitic pronoun clearly appears to be located in WPs. The tests for defining whether objects of certain categories are allowed to surface in WPs therefore consist in putting concerned objects between C° and clitic pronouns.

5.2   Data

The data throughout this section support the above claims: objects (dative and accusative) that are personal pronouns are allowed to surface in Wackernagel positions in contrast to objects of all other categories. Clitic pronouns were already shown to occur in WPs. The following datasets involve lexical NPs, strong personal pronouns and other STG pronouns.

i.   Lexical NPs

Objects (dative and accusative) that are lexical NPs are banned from WPs. They are never allowed to occur between C° and clitic pronouns.

(61) gives an example of a dative lexical NP. The dative lexical NP *ɪn saɪn mɪtpevoːnər* is located between C° and a clitic pronoun *s* and the sentence is ungrammatical.

(61)*   ɛːr hɔt ɪn saɪn mɪtpevoːnər   s   ɪbərviːsn̩

             he has in his roommate   it.ACC.Cl   transferred

             "He transferred it to his roommate (the money)."

In order to use (61) as a reasonable context for the claim that dative lexical NPs are banned from WPs, some basic requirements need to be met. The item *s* needs to be classified as a clitic pronoun in terms of being limited to WPs. Furthermore some examples need to prove that the context in (61) generally allows for the co-occurrence of WP-items. Examples (62) reveal that both requirements are met.

(62)

    a.)   geʃtərn hɔt saɪn mɪtpevoːnər es gɛld   ɪbərviːsn̩

            he has   has   his roommate the money   transferred

            "Yesterday his roommate transferred the money."

    b.)*   geʃtərn hɔt saɪn mɪtpevoːnər s   ɪbərviːsn̩

            he has   has   his roommate it.ACC.Cl transferred

            "Yesterday his roommate transferred it (the money)."

    c.)   geʃtərn hɔt   s   saɪn mɪtpevoːnər ɪbərviːsn̩

            he has   has it.ACC.Cl his roommate transferred

            "Yesterday his roommate transferred it (the money)."

    d.)   ɛːr hɔt   mər   s   ɪbərviːsn̩

            he has me.DAT.Cl it.ACC.Cl   transferred

            "He transferred it to me(the money)."

Consider first the unmarked order of subject and object in (62a) with the subject preceding the object. Analogous to (59), the clitic pronoun in (62) is also obligatorily located to the immediate right of C° (62c). It is not allowed to surface on the right of the subject (62b). The first requirement is therefore satisfied. *S* is a clitic pronoun limited to WPs. (62d) features the second requirement. Ungrammatical (61) is grammatical when the lexical NP is replaced by a clitic pronoun *mər*. So examples in (62) reveal that (61) is an appropriate context attesting that lexical dative NP-objects are banned from WPs.

The same observation also applies to accusative lexical NPs. (63a) exemplifies an ungrammatical sentence with an accusative lexical NP between C° and a clitic pronoun. In (63b) the lexical NP is replaced by a clitic pronoun and the sentence is grammatical. Hence the ungrammaticality of (63a) has to be attributed to the inability of accusative lexical NPs to surface in WPs. That the item *mər* is a clitic pronoun limited to WPs is already attested in (59b and c). Objects that are lexical NPs are therefore shown to be banned from WPs.

(63)

    a.)*   ɛːr hɔt saɪn mɪtpevoːnər   mər   foːrgʃtelt

            he has his roommate   me DAT.Cl introduced

            "He introduced his roommate to me."

    b.)   ɛːr hɔt sɪ   mər   foːrgʃtelt

            he has her.Cl me DAT.Cl introduced

            "He introduced her to me."

ii.   Personal pronouns

Objects that are personal pronouns differ from ones that are lexical NPs in the sense that they are allowed to surface in WPs. Clitic pronouns were already shown to surface in WPs. Further data confirm that this property applies to the whole domain of STG personal pronouns. It applies to strong personal pronouns as well as to clitic ones. Focused personal pronouns will be used as representatives for strong personal pronouns. Unfocused strong personal pronouns are ruled out in given contexts due to *The Principle of Choice* stated by Cardinaletti & Starke (1994). This principle describes a constraint linked to phonological economy which rules out the usage of strong personal pronouns whenever clitic pronouns can be used. Focused personal pronouns are nevertheless built upon strong personal pronouns and the above prediction is thus born out. STG personal pronouns differ from lexical NPs in terms of the ability to surface in WPs. Furthermore some data involving mass nouns support the claim that the restrictions on WPs are syntactic and not phonological. Certain mass nouns are phonologically as light as focused personal pronouns, but nevertheless unable to surface in WPs.

Examples with unfocused strong pronouns located between C° and a clitic pronoun are ungrammatical, as (63a) shows. The reason for the ungrammaticality of (63a) in contrast to (63b) is however a different one.

(63)

    a.)*   ɛːr hɔt   miːr   s   ɪbərviːsn̩

        he has me.DAT. it.ACC.Cl   transferred

        "He transferred it to me(the money)."

    b.)   ɛːr hɔt   mər   s   ɪbərviːsn̩

        he has me.DAT.Cl it.ACC.Cl   transferred

        "He transferred it to me(the money)."

    c.)*   ɛːr hɔt   miːr   gholfn̩

        he has me.DAT. helped

        "He helped me."

    d.)   ɛːr hɔt   mər   gholfn̩

        he has me.DAT.CL. helped

        "He helped me."

A more general principle related to phonological economy seems to block the usage of strong personal pronouns whenever a clitic pronoun can be used instead of a strong one. Cardinaletti & Starke (1994) have proposed a much related principle called *The Principle of Choice*. The contrast between (63c and d) resembles the contrast between (63a and b). (63d) is ungrammatical even though the strong pronoun is not necessarily located in WPs. I therefore conclude that the driving force ruling out (63a) is phonological economy, not the inability of strong pronouns to occur in WPs. Strong pronouns are therefore excluded from WPs, because clitic pronouns, which are preferred by phonological economy, can be used in those positions.

Unsurprisingly focused personal pronouns which are built upon strong personal pronouns behave differently. As clitic pronouns can't carry the semantic contribution of focus *The Principle of Choice* can't rule out the usage of focused personal pronouns in WPs. (64) exemplifies that objects that are focused personal pronouns are indeed allowed to surface in WP as opposed to objects that are lexical NPs.

(64)

    a.)*   ɛːr hɔt   MƏR   s   ɪbərviːsn̩

           he has me.DAT.Cl.Foc it.ACC.Cl   transferred

           "He transferred it to ME(the money)."

    b.)   ɛːr hɔt   MIːR   s   ɪbərviːsn̩

           he has me.DAT.Cl.Foc it.ACC.Cl   transferred

           "He transferred it to ME(the money)."

(64a) first exemplifies that clitic pronouns can't be focused. (64b) gives an example of a focused dative object that is clearly located in WPs. The focused pronoun *MI:R* is preceded by the V2-auxiliary and followed by a clitic pronoun. Accusative focused pronouns behave the same, as example (65) shows. Again the focused pronoun is located between C° and a clitic pronoun.

 (65)   ɛːr hɔt   SIː   mər   foːrgʃtelt

           he has her.Cl.ACC me DAT.Cl introduced

           "It is HER that he introduced to me."

(64) and (65) reveal that the ability for objects to be located in WPs applies to the whole domain of STG personal pronouns. I suggest that this ability is linked to syntactic lightness of personal pronouns in contrast to lexical NPs. It doesn't appear to be accidental that it comes along with the ability to incorporate and the inability to be modified by adjoined PPs.

Further data show that the selection restrictions of WPs are not phonological, but syntactic. Certain mass nouns lacking overt determiners are phonologically as light as focused personal pronouns, but still banned to occur in WPs. (66) gives an example of an accusative mass noun.

(66)*   dər hɛndlər hɔt eːl   mər   fɔrkʰaːft

       the merchant has oil me.DAT.Cl.   sold

       "The merchant sold me some oil."

In (66) the accusative object *e:l* is located between C° and the clitic pronoun *mər* and the sentence is ungrammatical. The item *e:l* is as light as the focused personal pronoun *MI:R* from a phonological perspective. If the restrictions of WPs were phonological, sentence (66) would be expected to be grammatical. As it is not, the selection restrictions of WPs appear to be syntactic, and not phonological or at least not only phonological. The syntactic structure of STG personal pronouns accounts for their inability to be modified by adjoined PPs and for their ability to incorporate into P°. I propose that the ability to surface in WPs is also linked to the bare D-status of STG personal pronouns.

iii.   Other STG pronouns

As expected, other STG pronouns pattern with lexical NPs, not with personal pronouns. They are unable to surface in WPs which constitutes a further argument for the claim that the selection restrictions of WPs are not phonological, but syntactic. Demonstrative pronouns and possessive pronouns are used as representatives for non-personal pronouns. A first example shows a dative demonstrative pronoun in WPs.

(67)

    a.)*   ɛ:r hɔt   ɪn de   s   ɪbərvi:sn̩

                he has   in these   it.ACC.Cl transferred

                "He transferred it to these people (the money)."

    b.)   ɛ:r hɔt   MI:R   s   ɪbərvi:sn̩

                he has me.DAT.Cl.Foc it.ACC.Cl   transferred

                "He transferred it to ME(the money)."

(67a) exemplifies that the usage of a dative demonstrative pronoun in WPs is not allowed. It can't be located between C° and a clitic pronoun in contrast to a personal pronoun. In (67b) the usage of a focused personal pronoun is repeated. (68) further reveals that the ungrammaticality of (67a) is not related to the presence of the default preposition *ɪn*. (68a) involves an accusative demonstrative pronoun which is not

preceded by a default preposition. The sentence is nevertheless ungrammatical as opposed to (68b) which involves a focused personal pronoun.

(68)

    a.)*   ɛ:r hɔt   de: mər   fo:rgʃtelt

           he has   these me.DAT.Cl introduced

           "He introduced these people to me."

    b.)   ɛ:r hɔt   SI: mər   fo:rgʃtelt

           he has her.Cl.ACC me DAT.Cl introduced

           "It is HER that he introduced to me."

Demonstrative pronouns resemble lexical NPs in this sense. Objects that are demonstrative pronouns are banned from WPs. Moreover examples like (68) further support the claim that the selection restrictions of WPs are not phonological or at least not purely phonological. The demonstrative pronoun *de:* in (68a) is phonologically as light as the focused personal pronoun SI: in (68b), but nevertheless banned from WPs.

Possessive pronouns constitute a second example for STG pronouns non-personal pronouns. Objects that are possessive pronouns pattern with ones that are demonstrative pronouns. (69) gives examples for both, dative and accusative possessive pronouns in WPs. (69a) shows that a dative possessive pronouns is not allowed to occur between the V2-auxiliary and the clitic pronoun *s* as opposed to the focused personal pronoun in (67b). In (69b) an accusative possessive pronoun is also located between C° and a clitic pronoun and the sentence is bad in contrast to (68b).

(69)

    a.)*   ɛ:r hɔt   ɪn   maɪnɪgər   s   ɪbərvi:sn̩

           he has   in   mine.fem.DAT   it.ACC.Cl transferred

           "He transferred it to mine (the money)."

    b.)*   ɛ:r hɔt   saɪnɪgɛ   mər   fo:rgʃtelt

           he has   his.fem.ACC me.DAT.Cl introduced

           "He introduced his wife to me."

STG personal pronouns therefore appear as the only category that is syntactically light enough to appear in object WPs. Objects of all other categories fail to surface in WPs no matter how light they are from a phonological perspective. I propose that the driving force for the difference between personal pronouns and all other categories is linked to inner syntactic properties. Two other differences between personal pronouns and other categories were already discussed in chapter 2. First STG personal pronouns are the only category that can't be modified by adjoined PPs typically modifying NPs. A second unique property of personal pronouns in STG grammar is the absence of the default preposition. I proposed that these two properties are related to the bare D-status of STG personal pronouns. The data throughout this chapter have demonstrated a third property that applies to personal pronouns exclusively. I therefore conclude that the property of dative and accusative personal pronouns to surface in WPs is also related to the syntactic lightness of STG personal pronouns. Along these lines I speculate that object WPs are only reaches via head movement. Such a constraint would explain the restrictions described. STG personal pronouns are heads whereas all other nominal categories are phrases.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have investigated a third consequence of the syntactic lightness of STG personal pronouns. Objects that are personal pronouns are able to surface in Wackernagel positions as opposed to objects of all other categories.

On the basis of the data presented in this chapter, table (43) in chapter 3 can be extended. Three properties distinguish personal pronouns from all other nominal categories: The absence of the default preposition, the inability to be modified by adjoined PPs and the ability for objects to surface in WPs. I claim that all these characteristics are linked to inner syntactic properties. Syntactic lightness distinguishes personal pronouns from all other categories.

(70)

	Default preposition	Modification by PPs	Objects in WPs
Lexical NPs	yes	yes	no
Other pronouns	yes	yes	no
Personal pronouns	no	no	yes

6 Concluding remarks

Concluding this thesis I will present a short evaluation of the analysis of STG dative case. I will highlight the most important data-points which are claimed to be telling no matter whether the specific analysis is correct or not. A possible topic for future research is a comparison between STG properties and data as well as previous accounts concerning dative case in Romance languages.

A first essential STG data-point is the coexistence of the item *ɪn* and dative case morphology on DPs. This coexistence makes it impossible to treat *ɪn* as a case marker. As STG has a phonologically identical locative preposition *ɪn*, it is by far the best solution to propose that the item *ɪn* in verbal and adjectival dative case domains is a preposition. Some previous accounts on Romance *a* which precedes DPs in non-prepositional dative contexts are different. Jaeggli (1982) has argued that the French *a* is a case marker. His argumentation is based on coordination of PPs and characteristics of French relative clauses investigated by Vergnaud (1974). Keeping in mind that French has poor case morphology, the lack of dative case morphology on DPs serves as a first condition for the assumption that *a* is a case marker. On the basis that STG *ɪn* is undoubtfully a preposition I suggest that Jaeggli's (1982) proposals should be reconsidered. In chapter 4 I have argued that Italian *a* displays the same properties as

STG *m*. Romance languages should generally be compared to STG in possible future research.[7]

A second essential data-point of STG non-prepositional dative case is that the absence of the default preposition applies not only to clitic pronouns but also to strong personal pronouns. Again properties of STG have possible consequences for the investigation of Romance languages. The fact that STG strong personal pronouns lack *m* delivers data that are very central for the analysis of the absence of *m*. The availability of coordination of dative strong personal pronouns and dative lexical NPs reveals that dative personal pronouns and dative lexical NPs are of the same syntactic category. These STG data are very important because Romance languages fail to deliver equivalent data. The absence of Romance *a* is limited to clitic pronouns. Clitic pronouns are independently banned from occurring in coordination. So in Romance languages there are no tests available suggesting that dative clitic pronouns and dative lexical NPs should be of the same syntactic category. A comparison of STG and Romance languages is quite reasonable at this point. STG provides data that are inaccessible in Romance languages.

Reconsidering the specific analysis of STG dative case presented in this thesis I want to stress that the specific analysis is not of particular importance. The undoubtful character of the data is crucial. First non-prepositional dative case domains involve an additional item which is convincingly a preposition and not a case marker. Second the absence of this item is not limited to clitic pronouns. It also applies to strong personal pronouns, which can be coordinated with lexical NPs involving the item *m*.

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[7] Note that Suñer (1988) argues for Spanish *a* to be an animacy marker upon data regarding clitic doubling. A comparison of this account and STG might also be subject to future investigation.

7   Appendix: Diachrony

This appendix describes some ideas on the diachronic development of STG dative case. More specifically it presents a scenario in which a dative case-system on the lines of SG could have changed to a dative case-system of the STG type. As no phenomenon resembling general properties of STG dative case is known for older stages of German, I conclude that STG must have had an SG dative case-system once. Unfortunately STG doesn't have an established writing, so there are no documents available to attest the suggestions made in this chapter. Some synchronic properties of the STG system nevertheless convincingly support the ideas.

The scenario presented is built upon certain STG non-prepositional dative case contexts that involve phonological processes. Masculine non-prepositional dative case contexts involve phonological processes that cause the deletion of reduced definite determiners. At this point I propose that such dative case contexts are potentially ambiguous. The ambiguous character of such constructions is defined as the basis for reanalysis. I claim that in the old STG system the item *m* in such constructions was interpreted as an unreduced dative definite determiner. In the new STG system it was interpreted as a preposition followed by a reduced determiner that is deleted by a phonological process. The reanalysis of a determiner as a preposition then spread to other paradigms and constructions.

The assumption that there was an unreduced dative definite determiner *m* at some stage of STG grammar is supported by the fact that many STG paradigms display a syncretism between masculine dative and masculine accusative. As the STG masculine accusative definite determiner is *m* as well, I propose that there was a dative definite determiner *m* at least at some stage of STG grammar.

In section 7.1 I will first present the contexts in which phonological processes cause the deletion of reduced masculine definite determiners. A second section discusses the ambiguous contexts by focusing on the two readings. Section 7.3 finally deals with the

diachronic aspect. A diachronic scenario is presented in which the ambiguous contexts serve as the driving force for a process of reanalysis.

7.1 Synchronic analysis

Before I discuss the potentially ambiguous character of masculine non-prepositional dative case contexts, I present a short synchronic analysis of the concerned constructions. Consider first the difference exemplified in (71). Feminine dative DPs in non-prepositional contexts clearly display the default preposition *ɪn* plus the dative definite determiner (71a). Masculine contexts on the other hand seem to lack one item (71b).

(71)

     a.)   i: g i:b ɪn dər frau a puax

             I give in the.DAT woman a book

             "I am giving a book to the woman."

     b.)   i: g i:b ɪn mɔn a puax

             I give ? man a book

             "I am giving a book to the man."

The full structure of (71) is given in (73). The dative masculine definite determiner *n* is deleted by a phonological process when it is preceded by a preposition ending in a dental nasal consonant. So there is no structural difference between (71a) and (71b).

(73)   i: g i:b ɪn n mɔn a puax

                I give in the man a book

                "I am giving a book to the man."

That an analysis on the lines of (73) is correct, is clearly shown by data from the prepositional domain. (74) demonstrates some instances of masculine dative definite determiners in prepositional domains. The reduced determiner *n* is attached to preceding prepositions.

(74)

    a.)   af   n   pɛrg

          on the.red.DAT mountain

    b.)   untər   n   tɪʃ

          under the.red.DAT table

As already shown in chapter 1 (9), STG has a locative preposition ɪn. (75) reveals that the reduced determiner *n* is indeed deleted when it is preceded by the locative preposition ɪn. As the default preposition and the locative preposition ɪn are homophonous, I conclude that a context on the lines of (73) also meets the conditions for the deletion of *n* to apply. The comparison between (75) and (71b) therefore clearly suggests that (71b) has in fact the full structure illustrated in (73). I conclude that there is no structural difference between (71a) and (71b). *In* in (71b) is the default preposition ɪn.

(75)   ɪn   n   gɔrtn̩ =   ɪn gɔrtn̩

           on the.red.DAT garden

7.2   Pre-conditions

Crucially constructions as (71b) serve as the basis of a diachronic analysis. The investigation of a number of STG data suggests that sentences as (71b) are potentially ambiguous. Under such an approach the item ɪn in a construction as (71b) was a determiner that was reanalyzed as a preposition. As properties subject to dative case similar to the STG ones are not known for older stages of German, I conclude that STG must have resembled SG once. Before I describe the process of reanalysis I first discuss the two reading.

(76)   a.) - reconstructed   i: g i:b   ɪn   mɔn a puax

                                  I give the.DAT. man a book

                                  "I am giving a book to the man."

b.)   i: gi:b ɪn n   mɔn a puax

        I give in the.DAT.red. man a book

        "I am giving a book to the man."

(76) shows the proposed ambiguous character of (71b) which serves as the basis for a process of reanalysis. *ɪn* is an unreduced determiner in (76a) and a default preposition plus a reduced determiner *n* which is deleted by a phonological process in (76b). The situation which is needed for the ambiguous character of (71b) shown in (76) is following: Non-prepositional domains involve the unreduced masculine dative definite determiner *ɪn*. Prepositional domains on the other hand involve a reduced determiner *n*.

In order to classify (71b) as ambiguous, the following requirements need to be met. First some arguments need to support the claim that *ɪn* could in fact have been interpreted as an unreduced dative determiner as it is proposed for (76a). Second some data need to justify the status of a reduced masculine dative definite determiner in prepositional domains. Both requirements are satisfied by a number of data from STG and SG.

i.   The first reading

As respects the unreduced masculine determiner in (76a) some convincing arguments come from other STG paradigms. Other STG paradigms display a syncretism between masculine dative and masculine accusative. Crucially the accusative masculine definite determiner in present STG is *ɪn*. It is therefore reasonable to assume that (71b) was interpreted as (76a) at some stage of STG grammar. The first reading of (71b) is repeated in (77) below. The item *ɪn* is an unreduced definite determiner.

(77) - reconstructed   i: gi:b ɪn   mɔn a puax

                                I give the.DAT man a book

                                "I am giving a book to the man."

Some data support the claim that *ın* was such an unreduced determiner at least at some stage of STG grammar. Consider the syncretisms between masculine dative and masculine accusative. (78) demonstrates this syncretism in the paradigm of indefinite determiners. The dative determiner in (78a) is *an* as well as the accusative one in (78b).

(78)

    a.)   i: g i:b ın   an   mɔn a puax

             I give in a.DAT man a book

             "I am giving a book to a man."

    b.)   i: s i:g   an   mɔn

             I see a.ACC man

             "I see a man."

The same syncretism also applies to demonstrative determiners. Dative (79a) and accusative (79b) both display the item *dɛn*. A third example is the instance of wh-determiners. Again the two determiners are homophonous. (79c) and (79d) both involve the item *vɛlxɳ*.

(79)

    a.)   i: g i:b ın   dɛn   mɔn a puax

             I give in this.DAT man a book

             "I am giving a book to this man."

    b.)   i: s i:g   dɛn   mɔn

             I see this.ACC man

             "I see this man."

    c.)   ın   vɛlxɳ   mɔn hɔn i: a puax ge:bm̩

             in which.DAT man have I a book given

             "To which man have I given a book?"

    d.)   vɛlxɳ   mɔn hɔn i: gse:gn̩

             which.ACC man have I seen

"Which man have I seen?"

Crucially the masculine accusative definite determiner is *ɪn*. (81) gives an example.

(81)   i: s i:g   ɪn   mɔn

                I   see the.ACC   man

                "I see the man."

I therefore conclude that it is quite reasonable to assume that some stage of STG involved an unreduced masculine dative definite determiner *ɪn*.

ii.   The second reading

The second reading was already discussed in section 7.1. It is the reading that applies to present STG. The item *ɪn* is a default preposition plus a reduced determiner deleted by a phonological process.

(82)   i: g i:b ɪn   n   mɔn a puax

                I give in the.DAT.red. man a book

                "I am giving a book to the man."

iii.   Ambiguity

The situation which is needed to classify (71b) as ambiguous is following: Some older stage of STG must have had reduced and unreduced masculine dative definite determiners. Reduced ones surfaced in prepositional contexts, unreduced ones in non-prepositional contexts.

Such a reconstructed property is supported by data from SG. SG exactly displays the properties described. It has reduced and unreduced masculine dative definite determiners. Prepositional domains allow for reduced determiners while non-prepositional domains don't. Consider (82) below. The reduced determiner *m* appears in prepositional contexts as (83), but not in verbal contexts, for instance. (83c) involving a reduced determiner is ungrammatical in contrast to (83b) which involves an unreduced determiner.

(83)

   a.)   unterm   Tisch   SG

            under+the.DAT.red.   table

            "under the table"

   b.)   Ich helfe   dem   alten Mann   SG

            I   help   the.DAT old   man

            "I am helping the old man."

   c.)*   Ich helfe   m   alten Mann   SG

            I   help   the.DAT.red. old   man

I conclude that some older stage of STG patterned with SG in the sense that prepositional domains allowed for reduced determiners whereas non-prepositional domains didn't. On the basis of such properties (71b) appears to be ambiguous. The prepositional context in (76a) involves a reduced determiner which is deleted by a phonological process. The non-prepositional context in (76b) involves an unreduced determiner.

Furthermore I argue that an unreduced determiner is not even excluded in present STG. I propose that other aspects of STG grammar prevent it from surfacing. Prepositional contexts obligatorily involve the reduced form *n.* As STG dative case always involves prepositions, there are simply no instances of dative DPs outside PPs. Therefore the usage of an unreduced masculine definite determiner *ɪn* is excluded due to independent reasons.

6.3   Diachrony

The potential ambiguous character of (71b) serves as the starting point for a process of reanalysis. The two readings are repeated in (84).

(84)   a.)   i: g i:b   ɪn   mɔn   a puax

             I   give the.DAT.   man   a   book

             "I am giving a book to the man."

b.)   i: g i:b ɪn n   mɔn a puax

I give in the.DAT.red. man a book

"I am giving a book to the man."

(84a) resembles the SG-type of non-prepositional dative case. Dative case is assigned in a verbal context. (84b) on the other side resembles the present-STG type. Non-prepositional dative case involves the default preposition *ɪn*.

Since a behavior concerning dative case similar to the one of STG is not known for older stages of German, I conclude that STG must have resembled SG ones. A change of parameters then brought about the present properties of STG dative case. The starting point is a dative case system in which prepositional, verbal and adjectival heads assign dative case, let's call it the SG-type. The present character of STG which I call the STG-type is different in the sense that P° is the only head able to assign dative case. Therefore non-prepositional dative case domains involve default prepositions.

I propose that ambiguous contexts allowing both interpretations functioned as a trigger for a change of parameters from the SG-type to the STG-type. Contexts as (84) allow an interpretation that fits the SG-type (84a) and an interpretation that resembles the STG-type (84b). I claim that contexts as (71b) were interpreted on the lines of (84a) and then reanalyzed as (84b). More specifically the item *ɪn* was first interpreted as an unreduced masculine dative definite determiner and was then reanalyzed as a default preposition plus a reduced determiner which is deleted by a phonological process. I suggest that the new system then spread to other paradigms which don't involve reduced determiners and phonological processes.

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Abstract (English)

Südtirol-German (STG), a German dialect spoken in Südtirol, Northern Italy, displays rather unexpected properties concerning dative case. As opposed to Standard German (SG), STG dative objects in verbal and adjectival environments are preceded by the preposition *in*. P° is proposed to be the only syntactic head able to assign dative case. Therefore non-prepositional dative case environments involve default prepositions.

Surprisingly *in* is absent when dative objects are personal pronouns. Nevertheless these personal pronouns have to be considered as PPs since they can be coordinated with lexical NPs that are PPs. Following the *Law of Coordination of Likes* (Chomsky 1957, Schachter 1977, Williams 1988) coordination is required to involve identical syntactic categories. STG dative personal Pronouns thus appear as PPs even though there is no default preposition present. It is claimed that a process of incorporation in the sense on Baker (1988) is responsible for the absence of *in*. STG personal pronouns are bare Ds and therefore allowed to incorporate into P° in verbal and adjectival dative case contexts. The bare Ds-status of personal pronouns is justified by the fact that they can't be modified by adjoined PPs typically modifying NPs. Lexical NPs, in contrast, have a complete syntactic structure, which prevents incorporation.

Some data from Italian further show that STG doesn't display completely unique properties. The behavior of dative case in STG should generally be compared to Romance languages in possible future research.

Abstract (German)

Der Dativ im Südtiroler Dialekt (STG) weist bedeutende Unterschiede zum Dativ im Standarddeutschen auf. In verbalen und adjektivischen Dativkontexten des STG steht vor Dativobjekten eine semantisch leere Präposition (*in*). Der vorgeschlagenen Analyse nach sind verbale und adjektivische Köpfe im STG im Unterschied zu solchen im Standarddeutschen defektiv. P° ist der einzige syntaktische Kopf, der dazu fähig ist, Dativ zuzuweisen. Die Default-Präposition *in* erfüllt daher den Zweck Dativobjekten in nicht-präpositionalen Kontexten ihren Kasus zuzuweisen. Im Unterschied zu lexikalischen NPs darf aber vor Personalpronomen keine Default-Präposition stehen. Nichtsdestotrotz erscheinen diese Personalpronomen als PPs, da sie mit lexikalischen NPs, welche mit *in* einhergehen, koordiniert werden können. Die Generalisierung *The Law of Coordination of Likes* (Chomsky 1957, Schachter 1977, Williams 1978) besagt, dass Koordination immer syntaktisch identische Kategorien benötigt. Daraus wird geschlossen, dass Personalpronomen, welche die Präsenz der Default-Präposition ausschließen, doch PPs sein müssen. Es wird nun angenommen, dass Personalpronomen in verbalen und adjektivischen Dativkontexten von D° nach P° inkorporieren (im Sinne von Baker 1988), was die Abwesenheit der Default-Präposition zur Folge hat. Der Unterschied zwischen lexikalischen NPs und Personalpronomen bezieht sich auf innere syntaktische Unterschiede. Personalpronomen sind der Analyse nach blanke Ds und daher für Inkorporation geeignet. Die Behauptung, dass Personalpronomen blanke Ds sind, wird dadurch untermauert, dass Personalpronomen des STG nicht durch PPs modifiziert werden können, welche typischerweise NPs modifizieren. Lexikalische NPs sind im Gegensatz dazu syntaktisch komplexer und daher nicht für den Inkorporationsprozess zulässig.

Ein Vergleich mit Daten des Italienischen zeigt vor, dass STG nicht gänzlich einzigartige Eigenschaften veranschaulicht. Ein allgemeiner Vergleich zu Dativkontexten in romanischen Sprachen stellt ein mögliches Thema für künftige Untersuchungen dar.

CV

1987	Born in Bolzano, Northern Italy
1990-1996	Primary school *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe*, Bolzano
1996-2000	Secondary school *Joseph von Aufschneiter*, Bolzano
2000-2006	Grammar school *Walther von der Vogelweide*, Bolzano
2004-2005	Exchange student at the *Eirias High school*, Colwyn Bay, Wales, GB
2006	School leaving examination, passed with 90/100 points, Bolzano
Since 2006	Studies of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics at the University of Vienna